

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 205 147

HE 014 217

TITLE Education Across Cultures: Domestic and International Perspectives. Proceedings of the Annual Colloquium (7th, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, March 28, 1981).

INSTITUTION Pittsburgh Univ., Pa. Council of Graduate Students in Education.

PUB DATE 28 Mar 81

NOTE 245p.

AVAILABLE FROM Council of Graduate Students in Education, School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, 5L10 Forbes Quadrangle, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Adult Education; *Cross Cultural Studies; *Deafness; Developing Nations; Educational Counseling; Educational History; Educational Philosophy; *Ethnic Studies; Foreign Countries; *Higher Education; *International Education; Nontraditional Education; Teacher Characteristics; *Urban Studies

IDENTIFIERS Africa; Iran; Kenya

ABSTRACT

The Council for Graduate Students in Education's Seventh Annual Colloquium was held on March 28, 1981, on the theme "Education Across Cultures: Domestic and International Perspectives." Papers presented include: "Symbolic Strategies in the Organization of Ethnic Study Programs" (Julian E. Abuso); "The Prospective Inner-City Teacher as Ethnographer" (Alice E. Carter); "The History and Colonial Philosophy of Education in Africa" (Petronella C. Kaweesa); "A Pilot Experience in Vocalics for Counselors" (Rose M. Moulton); "Cultural and Cross-Cultural Issues in the Development of Deaf Children of Hearing Parents" (Richard C. Nowell); "Quest and Invest: A Young Adult Preparatory Project" (Ethel M. Parris); "The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement: The Contribution of an Ethnic Protest Movement to National Independence in Kenya" (Carl H. Templin); "Cultural Conditioning and the Expression of Emotion" (Anne M. Werdmann); and "What Happened to Higher Education Institutions in Iran?" (Scott Witon). (LC)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
SEVENTH ANNUAL COLLOQUIUM

EDUCATION ACROSS CULTURES:
DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

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Published by

THE COUNCIL OF GRADUATE STUDENTS IN EDUCATION

School of Education

University of Pittsburgh

1981

AE 014 217

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PREFACE

The Seventh Annual Colloquium, held on March 28, 1981, was a re-dedication of the Council of Graduate Students in Education to scholarship in education and education-related areas.

The keynote address "Equalization of Educational Opportunity and Racial/Ethnic Inequality: A Cross-Cultural Perspective" by Dr. John U. Ogbu, professor of anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley and distinguished visiting professor in educational studies at the University of Delaware (1980-1981), highlighted the event. The colloquium theme, "Education Across Cultures: Domestic and International Perspectives," was the subject of a panel discussion chaired by Dr. Paul H. Masoner (University Center for International Studies and School of Education, University of Pittsburgh). The panelists consisted of individuals from the University of Pittsburgh: Jonathan Flint (Pennsylvania Ethnic Heritage Studies Center), Dr. Raymond Garris (Special Education), Dr. Barbara Sizemore (Black Studies), and Dr. Seth Spaulding (International and Development Education).

The Council wishes to thank the nine writers for making their papers available in this volume. Thanks are also due to the other presenters: Ruth G. Biro, Lynn Dale Housner, Loa Jane Miller, Baloch Qamar and Susan M. Smith.

There were Council members and officers who worked together as a team to program this year's colloquium. The Council appreciates the dedication and hard work of Colloquium co-chairpersons Judy Williams and John E. Abuso who were assisted by Committee members Mary Ann Corr, Susan Harris, Ethel Parris, Baloch Qamar and Linda Stone.

Council president Kristina Bogovich, faculty advisor Bill Thomas, and the School of Education administration, staff and alumni association provided encouragement and logistical support to the Colloquium Committee.

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SYMBOLIC STRATEGIES IN THE ORGANIZATION
OF ETHNIC STUDY PROGRAMS

By

Julian E. Abuso

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Acknowledgments

In putting together this work, I owe special thanks to John Singleton who provided directions, comments and suggestions. This work has profited from the expertise of Rolland Paulston and Arthur Tuden. I appreciate their input. Special thanks to the Black Studies Department of San Francisco State University, Afro-American Studies Department of Harvard University and Chicano Studies Center of the University of California at Los Angeles for providing me with research information and materials. Finally, I want to thank Norman Stahl for lending some useful materials.

Introduction

Ethnicity, in the United States, has become acceptable, even fashionable (Novak 1971: xix). Symbolic acceptance of ethnicity is greatest with respect to maintenance of cultural artifacts and symbols, such as food habits, religious beliefs, dress and hair styles, and social values from great grandparents' country of origin.

While ethnicity, in the sense just described, is beautiful and nostalgic, it has become a commodity, in fact a source of political strength, useful in coping with the strains and stresses imposed by American political and economic structure upon the American people. Michael Novak (1971), for instance, explores the potential role of the unmeltable ethnics--the Poles, Italians, Greeks and Slavs--in American politics. Ulf Hannerz (1974) points out how ethnic identity and social relationships have affected resource competition in urban America. Some ethnic Americans, he contends, have developed "niches from which one could get access to resources in the public arena by providing new goods and services to those members of the society at large who wanted them" (1974: 49).

Along the lines of educational enterprise, the influence of ethnic politics has become a dominant force during the last twenty-five years. Civil rights movement leaders and supporters, in great strides, influenced the U.S. Supreme Court decisions to outlaw segregation in schools and other public places. In the late sixties and early seventies, ethnic and

racial groups demanded a relevant schooling, e.g., bilingual, bicultural, multicultural, ethnic, Black, Chicano, Jewish, Slavic and other school programs reflecting cultural and ethnic differences.

Educational-change oriented/comparative educators have suggested we examine comparatively and crossculturally these kinds of educational phenomena. Paulston (1976), for example, contends that such efforts would be useful in informing teaching and redefining educational policy in most plural societies.

This paper, through case studies of ethnic education programs, will look at some political dimensions of ethnic experience in Black and Chicano Studies programs. Specifically, this investigation will suggest the proposition that ethnic study programs create symbolic strategies to achieve certain group purposes, i.e., institutionalization of an ethnic study program in a university setting.

This comparative study demonstrates an application of Cohen's (1974) concept of ethnicity as based upon symbolic strategies. It is assumed that an ethnic study program changes over time and that it interacts with its environing system. Cohen's suggestion that we look at both symbolic and political processes requires that we focus upon the symbolic strategies involved in the organization of an ethnic study program. This should demonstrate utility of our analytical model in explaining the political processes surrounding ethnic study programs.

Three cases have been chosen for this analysis: the

Black Studies programs at San Francisco State University (SFSU) and Harvard University (HU) and Chicano Studies at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA). There are three reasons behind the choice of these cases. First, these ethnic study programs are housed in university settings with different academic traditions. SFSU is a less prestigious state university. HU is a prestigious private university. UCLA is a larger prestigious state university. Secondly, the three cases also represent different models of ethnic study programs: a department of Black Studies within a school of ethnic studies (SFSU); a department of Black Studies within a college of arts and sciences (HU); and an independent research unit with an academic program embedded with established disciplines and fields of study (UCLA). Thirdly, there were materials available that described the development of these programs from which one could suggest some of the political processes involved in their creation and academic legitimization. The three cases representing three models of ethnic study programs located in university settings with different academic traditions should demonstrate a range of ethnic and political processes involved in ethnic educational programs.

Ethnicity, Symbolism and Symbolic Strategies

This section of the presentation elaborates on the perspective adopted as framework for analysis of ethnic education programs in American universities. The analytical framework, Cohen's (1974) symbolic strategies, in usage is dependent upon a conception of ethnicity and symbolism concepts which need

elaboration. This section also hopes to illustrate theoretically the linkage between ethnicity and symbolism.

Ethnicity has had a mosaic of usage, i.e., social science scholars have conceived of it as a psychological, social, cultural and political phenomenon (cf. Skovira 1977). One modest attempt to delineate the various meanings of ethnicity is in John Bennett's introduction to "The New Ethnicity: Perspectives from Ethnology" (1975). He suggests four conceptualizations of ethnicity: 1) as identity, 2) as culture, 3) as strategy, and 4) as class.

Ethnicity as an identity phenomenon posits the following meanings: the definition of self¹ and others as members of specific ethnic groups, and the ascription of behavioral and attitudinal differences to the groups (Bennett 1975: 4; Gibson 1976: 3). Self definition of identity may be based on a set of traditions (folk religious beliefs and practices, language, a sense of historical continuity, and common ancestry or place of origin) not shared by others with whom they are in contact (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross 1975: 9). As a psychological or cognitive construct, identity based on origin and background can be internally (self) or externally (others) ascribed (Barth 1969: 13). Barth further suggests that the purpose of identity definition, whether by self or others, is to structure interaction.

¹Self refers to individual as well as collective group.

Ethnicity as culture, which Bennett (1975) calls the "old ethnicity", involves the distinctive characteristics of nations or groups within a nation or mainstream society. Individuals describing themselves as members of an ethnic group romanticize their ethnicity in certain modes of behavior, e.g., they speak and strive to maintain the language of their ethnic origin. Holidays and festivals--celebrated around kin, family and other social circles--serve as rites of intensification which perform two functions: 1) rehabilitation of the participants, and 2) persistence of culture among ethnic group members (Neville 1975: 271). Maintenance of ethnic culture is the primary aim of this kind of ethnicity which is both expressive and behavioral. Ethnicity, in this sense, is not goal oriented (for economic and political gains). Once it assumes economic and political goal orientations, ethnicity can be conceived of as a strategy.

Ethnicity as strategy involves the selective use, whether conscious or unconscious, and articulation of identity and/or traditional culture to promote economic and political advantages or gains. As Cohen tersely puts it, "ethnicity is fundamentally a political phenomenon, as the symbols of traditional culture are used as mechanism for the articulation of political alignments" (1974: 97). As such, "ethnicity provides an array of symbolic strategies for solving most or all of the basic problems of organizational function" (Cohen 1974: 97). Similarly, Ross elucidates that ethnicity involves the mobilization of

resources "for the purpose of pressuring the political system to allocate public goods for the benefit of the members of a self-differentiating collectivity" (1980: 15). Daniel Bell considers this kind of ethnic process as a "strategic site", adopted by disadvantaged individuals as a "new mode of seeking political redress in the society" (1975: 169). In fact, it is a potent political resource in plural societies. Ethnicity in this sense prevails in multiethnic societies, modern and traditional, in which members of various ethnic entities compete for the same scarce resources, e.g., economic goods, political power, employment opportunities, and even educational placement. In the context of American plural society, Hannerz (1974: 52-54) notes that Italian Americans used their ethnicity in organized crimes and also in providing protected niches for entrepreneurs within the ethnic groups, whereby non-members have been in a disadvantaged position in competing for the same resources.

Class, defined basically in terms of property relations (Bell 1975: 168) or social relations of production (Robbins 1975), becomes relevant in the study of ethnicity, or vice versa, in plural societies where "one ethnic group is economically predominant and another ethnic group economically exploited" (Bell 1975: 168). In other words, this is a socioeconomic condition where class is congruent with ethnicity. Hannerz (1974: 47) observes that this situation historically existed in America during the large-scale immigration in the latter part of the

nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century. Newcomers who were channeled into the working class were used as strike breakers. Under these socioeconomic conditions members of the upper strata perceived the separation between themselves and the recent immigrants simultaneously along the lines of class and ethnicity.

The four conceptions of ethnicity--as identity, as culture, as strategy, and as class--while different are interconnected. Ethnic identity is a symbolic factor upon which collective formation may occur so as to advance an ethnic group's economic and political interests. Hannerz, summarizing Cohen's theoretical presupposition on ethnicity, concedes that ethnic identity's contribution to ethnic group's struggle is "to provide an idiom which promotes solidarity as a moral duty--the specific common interests for which the battle is waged are embedded in a much wider, more complex unity" (1974: 39). Ethnic culture, as previously discussed, may assume a similar function as ethnic identity in providing symbols or idioms upon which collective formation may arise. Sometimes ethnic culture intensifies the degree of closeness of ethnic group members whose main preoccupation is to promote individual and collective interests. Ethnicity as identity and as culture are also interconnected. One way, members of an ethnic group may emphasize ethnic identity is to organize activities recreating and reinventing their cultural inheritance, as in the case of many immigrants and their offspring in the United States. Ethnic culture

may activate and reinforce ethnic distinctiveness, e.g., language and religion may serve this function. Ethnicity as class is of course related to ethnicity as identity and as strategy. Ethnic group members who see themselves as economically deprived and powerless may bind together, on the basis of common identity and economic experience, to promote individual and collective interests. Ethnicity as class partially provides the context for the emergence of ethnic study program. In this presentation, ethnicity as strategy will be a focal point of interest, with identity, culture, and class, providing symbols for political processes.

The linkage between ethnicity and symbolism has been suggested by the preceding discussion on the interconnection of the various conceptions of ethnicity. Ethnic culture--contemporary, revival or mythical--performs two basic functions. It is a source of ethnic identity. Also, it is source of symbols useful in collective or ethnic mobilization geared toward political and economic gains. Ethnic symbols, once applied in this fashion, are transformed into symbolic strategies by ethnic group members.

Anthropological study of symbols and meanings began, for the most part, with the study of religious behavior, ritual forms, magic, myth and holiday (Dolgin, Kemnitzer & Schneider 1977: 34). Simultaneous with this development was the maintenance of the notion that symbolic behavior such as ritual and magic are essentially epiphenomenal and less than "real".

Both developments have been responsible for the dominant mode of analysis of ritual and other expressive behavior, suggesting that symbolic activities are a panacea for social malfunctioning. When scholars see religion and ritual as providing comfort, symbolic activities, logically, are aberrations of social life. This perspective presupposes a priori existence of social life and that ritual is a discomfort-management device of the system. Dolgin and associates contend that this frame of analysis of symbolic action misses the point that thought is action. Symbolic forms receive a heavy focus, leaving out human behavior. The shortcoming of this approach to symbolic analysis wards off attempts to understand others' action, their culture, their systems of symbols and what people actually do. They strongly suggest we do not study symbolic forms but praxis--concrete actions of people in situation which make use of, create and relate to form. This critical point has implications for the study of ethnic phenomenon. First, the study of ethnicity should focus on the behavior of people, see how ethnicity (derived from identity and culture) is used in various situations because ethnicity is a symbolic process created by individuals who see themselves as ethnics and who promote themselves through the ethnic processes. To study ethnicity statically (with focus on identity and culture per se) rather than seeing identity and culture as applied symbols and also identifying effects of applied symbols on individuals and the con-

text is a futile exercise. That ethnicity is a normal process, not an aberration, is another implication. In the case of ethnic study programs, we will look at it as a form of educational change effort, not an aberration, affected by ethnic symbolic processes.

The suggestion of Dolgin and associates to focus the study of symbolism on the behavior of individuals who create and relate to certain symbolic forms and to the context of symbolic processes is compatible with Cohen's symbolic strategies. Symbols, according to Cohen, consist of "objects, arts, relationships or linguistic formation that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions, and impel men to action" (1974: 23, emphasis in original). He further notes that symbols tend to include ideologies and worldviews which interest groups develop and articulate for ethnic action. To examine symbolic processes in an ethnic organization such as an ethnic study program, Cohen suggests that the phenomenon be described with respect to six symbolic strategies (1974: Chapter 5). The first strategy is definition of distinctiveness and recognition of social boundaries. An ethnic organization creates and adopts one or more symbolic forms to define its distinctiveness. Mythologies of descent, for example, serve as media and criteria for the creation of ethnic identity. A politically active ethnic organization needs a system of communication, the second symbolic strategy, to allow every member to share his experience and also to define among mem-

bers common denominators of problems. Third, the collective group must have a system for collective decision-making, whether conscious or unconscious, by consensus or by a leader on behalf of the group. Directly related to the problem of decision-making for collective action is the need for the articulation of authority and leadership, the fourth symbolic strategy. People in leadership capacity, in most situations, fulfill their functions through the manipulation of symbols. To motivate ethnic group members and compel them to action, there is a need for ideology, the fifth requirement. As described by Cohen, ideology which is a symbol in itself, either developed or adopted ready-made by a group, defines an individual and group's place in society and in the universe. The sixth requirement involves socialization of ethnic group members through "continuous indoctrination, conditioning of moods and sentiments, and affirmation of beliefs." Such purpose may be achieved through ceremonials and gatherings (Cohen 1974: 82). The six symbolic strategies or organizational functions are the ethnic processes this paper looks for in each of the three ethnic study programs.

Black Studies at SFSU

The Department of Black Studies, along with the American Indian, Asian American and La Raza Studies, make up the School of Ethnic Studies at SFSU which was established in the fall of 1969. As an academic program, SFSU Black Studies aims

to provide an opportunity for an integrated liberal arts major in Black Studies for those students who are interested in the education and development of the Black community and to provide an opportunity for an integrated academic major for those students who plan to teach Black Studies courses in elementary school, high school, or elsewhere (San Francisco State University Bulletin 1980-1981: 134).

To exist and survive as an academic program, according to its stated commitments, Black Studies, like any formal and/or informal organization, has to relate to its environment--the University and city community. In its struggle for existence within these communities, Black Studies has created and manipulated an array of symbols to promote its interest. Following are illustrations of the dominant symbols manipulated by the people involved with SFSU Black Studies program.

Alliance under third world symbolism. The creation of a niche for Black Studies within the SFSU environment is interconnected with one of the longest, most dramatic student strikes in the United States. What makes the student strike significant to our understanding of the dimensions of this Black Studies program is not, perhaps, its four-month duration, but the symbols, including ceremonies and rituals associated with them, created by militant Black students and their allies.

An interest group, such as the Black Student Union(BSU) at SFSU, will invent and manipulate a variety of symbols, however, a "dominant symbolic form will continue to perform a good deal of the functions of the group" (Cohen 1974: 85).

This was the case of BSU members at SFSU who adopted and manipulated a dominant symbolic form to promote group interest, thus, the third world symbolism. As a symbol, third world has multiple meanings. It may stand for a set of relationships involving oppression of a minority sector by a majority group or colonization of a subordinate group by a dominant group. Among people who describe themselves as third world people, this symbol may make them recreate bitter colonial experience. This symbolism may also impel people to strike back against their colonizers. In a declaration of principles, written sometime in the late 1966 or early 1967, the BSU members proclaimed themselves as third world:

The Black Students Union recognized the struggles for freedom of nonwhite peoples around the world as a positive part of our educational purposes. We are a Third World organization. We adhere to the struggle in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, ideologically, spiritually, and culturally. (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence 1969: 109, emphasis mine).

Alliance under third world symbolism became a necessary strategy because of the high visibility of students representing the various ethnic communities in San Francisco area. Non-recognition of the educational needs of these ethnic students by BSU members would have attenuated their political strength that sustained the duration of a dramatic ceremony, the student strike.

BSU, originally the Negro Students Association (NSA), had its beginning on SFSU campus as early as fall 1963. NSA, approved by the student government on January 30, 1964, chang-

ed its name to Black Students Union in March, 1966. BSU then became a member of Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a much younger organization founded in winter 1967-1968 dedicated to provide the educational needs of third world students. TWLF became a union of BSU, the Latin American Students Organization (LASO), the Mexican American Students Confederation (MASC), the Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action (ICSA), the Philippine American Collegiate Endeavor (PACE), and the Asian American Political Alliance (AAPA). Each group designated two delegates on TWLF 12-member committee. While the four-month strike was technically led by TWLF, BSU played a dominant role.

The third world alliance performed certain functions both for BSU and TWLF members. The new symbol created a new sense of self-awareness, not just an awareness of being Black, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Chicano or Latin American. It was an awareness based on shared belief or ideology in the broader sense, that is, being "third world people." This belief or ideology was kept alive by the student strikers during the four-month strike which revolved around the BSU's ten and TWLF's five demands. BSU demanded the following from SFSU administration: 1) creation and recognition of a Black Studies department; 2) appointment of Nathan Hare as Black Studies department chairman; 3) authorization of Black Studies department to grant bachelor's degree in Black Studies and to exercise ethnic control over the administration of the department

and program; 4) admission of more Black students in spring 1969; 5) admission of all other Black students wishing admission in fall 1969; 6) allocation of twenty full-time teaching positions to Black Studies; 7) hiring of a Black for the position of financial aid officer and exercising control over the same office by third world people; 8) non-disciplinary action to be administered to students and other people involved in the strike; 9) California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve Black program on or off SFSU; and 10) maintenance of George Murray's (a Black activist) teaching position (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence 1969: 151; Boyle 1970: 68-69). The five TWLF demands consisted of: 1) creation of School of Ethnic Studies with each ethnic organization exercising ethnic control over respective areas of study; 2) creation of fifty faculty positions for the School of Ethnic Studies, twenty of which are for Black Studies program; 3) admission of non-white students in spring 1968-1969; 4) admission of all applications of non-white students in the fall of 1969; and 5) retention of George Murray and other faculty chosen by non-white people (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence 1969: 151; San Francisco State Strike Committee 1968: 3-4; Boyle 1970: 69-70). We should note, at this juncture, that the five TWLF demands, while expressed in different words, were the same demands launched by BSU. In fact TWLF demands reinforced those of BSU. This protagonist-supporting actor relationship became

possible because of strong alliance under third world symbolism.

The four-month strike, along with the pre and post strike periods, served as ceremonial process involving ritual activities, e.g., mass rallies, pickets, teach-ins and other forms of organized and spontaneous confrontation with SFSU administration and the military. Ritual activities performed specific functions for BSU and TWLF members: 1) socialization of present and prospective members; 2) conditioning of moods and sentiments; and 3) affirmation of belief, i.e., being third world people. Socialization effect of the student strike, perhaps, is well exemplified by the experience of a Chinese student who, despite previous exposure to a white-oriented education, became a student leader of Intercollegiate Chinese for Social Action.

Third world students were not the only ones politicized by the strike rituals. SFSU teachers, during their strike, presented the University administration with a list of demands, including a demand to accommodate BSU and TWLF demands. In addition, the strike rituals also sensitized the surrounding Black and other ethnic communities to the issues presented by BSU and TWLF. Members of these communities in turn responded by expressing support to BSU and TWLF demands and other issues affecting the plight of ethnic Americans.

The four-month strike ended in March 1969 when the SFSU administration granted the major demands, foremost of

which was the creation of Black Studies department and the School of Ethnic Studies. Since then the Black Studies program, under the umbrella of the School of Ethnic Studies, has utilized traditional ethnic symbols--language, religion, dance, music and arts--to perform academic-related rituals. In many instances, each symbol serves as the core of formal study of Black experience in America.

To date the alliance under third world symbolism still exists but not for militant action. Rather, the symbol represents the existing unity of four departments--Asian Americans, Black, La Raza, and Indian American Studies--engaged in the pursuit of academic interests. The School of Ethnic Studies, as indicated by its program objectives, has continued, and will continue, to legitimate its existence by providing emphasis on third world experience. Black Studies and the other ethnic study programs have continued to use third-world-people ideology because of its political and emotional appeal to ethnic student population. Once this ideology becomes dysfunctional and ineffective, it would be replaced with another symbol.

Community involvement symbolism. Another symbol that has been useful to the well-being of Black Studies at SFSU is community involvement. As a symbol used by this ethnic study program, it may mean an action-oriented educational program relevant to the needs of the Black community. It may also mean increased Black students' participation in their respec-

tive communities or close school-community ties.

Historically, the NSA (which later became BSU) was responsible for the origination of community involvement or development as a major thrust of Black Studies. The NSA constitution defined its purpose as:

To engage in projects which the membership considers to be in the interest of the Negro community; to engage in the study of Negro history and life; to foster the growth and dissimination of Negro cultural contribution (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence 1969: 78, emphasis mine).

NSA's community involvement program could be dated as far back as 1964 when its members, together with white students, participated in a tutorial program in San Francisco where over ninety per cent of the kids being tutored were Blacks. By 1967 two-thirds of the leadership in the tutorial program became Black. BSU's restated philosophy and goal, in 1967, underscored the need to associate with community organization which addressed the needs of Blacks. BSU's involvement in the Black community received approval from Black community leaders. During the SFSU student strike the Black community leaders made known their approval of Black students's grievances. It should be noted that BSU became a dues-paying member of WACO (Western Addition Community Organization). In essence BSU's community involvement created an alliance with the Black community.

The proposal for a Department of Black Studies, developed by Nathan Hare in April 1968, highlighted the criti-

cal significance of community involvement, "to develop the key component of community involvement, it is necessary to inspire and sustain a sense of collective destiny as a people and a consciousness of the value of education in a technological society" (Hare 1969: 163). Under this guiding principle, students and others will be organized into Black Cultural Councils which will sponsor cultural affairs. To be set up is a Black information center to increase communication and political awareness. A Bureau of Black Education will be established for the mutual aid of Black scholars and also for the establishment of Black textbook and syllabi writing corps. Professors would be needed to provide models to Black students. Lectures to be given by lecturers from the Black community will be organized in the community. To assure closer relations between community and school, apprenticeships in cooperation with coursework will be necessary.

Community involvement ideology still pervades the Black Studies program at SFSU, as indicated by its program objective, "to provide an opportunity for an integrated liberal arts major in Black Studies for those students who are interested in the education and development of the Black community." The current course listing reflects Black Studies commitment to community development. Courses which cluster around Black community experience include economics, law, research, and radio and television. The department of Black Studies maintains its ties with the community through actual

involvement of students in community agencies, such as Bay Area Black Psychological Association, Black Wolf Society and Pan African People's Organization (San Francisco State University, School of Ethnic Studies Brochure).

Community involvement symbolism is a powerful ideology in terms of creating a belief suggesting that Black Studies provides a relevant schooling to the Black community. Such belief reinforces the position of Black Studies-Black community alliance, created by the same symbolism, is a potential source of political strength essential to collective formation, i.e., if Black Studies, for whatever reasons, is challenged by any political group or force, might facilitate a united action. Also, this symbol might provide an idiom to cause ethnic members to action.

Traditional ethnic symbols. An African language, religion, dance, music, drama and philosophy are the traditional symbols of Black Studies at SFSU. Each symbol has a corresponding class or course of study structured around a body of knowledge or a system of skills which is either African, Black or their combination. The traditional ethnic symbols, as represented by different courses, render some functions.

When used as course titles, traditional symbols invite the participation of people, who identify with the symbols, in a variety of creative ethnic experiences which, in turn, perform a socialization function. Every class built

around an ethnic symbol performs rituals which condition the moods and sentiments of participants. What seems to be an outcome of these conditioning activities is the formation of ethnic solidarity as well as distinctiveness among Black students and faculty.

While the traditional ethnic symbols and their accompanying rituals function principally to create sentimental linkage with the historic past and culture, they may, as the occasion would require, serve as sources of political slogan or idiom for the purpose of promoting ethnic group's interest. For example, an African word may be adopted by Black students to symbolize unity and collective power.

Black Studies at HU

The Department of Afro-American Studies at Harvard University (HU) is a unit of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. This interdisciplinary and comparative program, which offers a bachelor of arts degree, focuses on the "discovery and dissemination of knowledge about the history and culture of Black Americans in both the United States and the Caribbean" (Harvard University___ : 11). The curriculum is structured around the traditional disciplines and humanities--literature, history, music, religion, art, sociology, economics, political science, and psychology.

The history of Black Studies at HU is marked with actions and decisions made by people involved in the organization of this ethnic study program. These acts and decisions,

for the most part, represent symbolic forms performed by the actors to achieve symbolic functions. Following are some reflections on the symbolic forms germane to Black Studies program at HU.

Myth of an academic discipline. A new idea, concept or innovation may be started in a given cultural or organizational context by an individual or group of individuals who takes on the responsibility to create a "niche" for it. Niche creation involves symbolic processes, i.e., symbols are manipulated by the proponents and supporters of a new idea. In the case of Black Studies at HU the idea about the creation of Black Studies may have been originated by the Black students themselves who, by some channel of communication, transmitted the idea to the university administration. In response to the message of Black students, the administration of HU, represented by the dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, commissioned the Faculty Committee on African and Afro-American Studies, better known as the Rosovsky Committee, to design a blueprint of Black Studies program for HU. In essence, the task of this committee was to create a "niche" for Black Studies in HU academic community.

To execute its task, the Committee had to create and use a powerful symbol, and that is, Black Studies is an academic discipline. As the Rosovsky Committee put it:

In our opinion, the status quo with respect to Afro-American Studies at Harvard is not satisfactory. Quite a number of courses recognize

the existence of black men in the development of America; quite a bit of expertise is already available. However, merely recognizing black men as integral segments of certain overall social processes is not good enough. We are dealing with 25 million of our people with a special history, culture, and range of problems. It can hardly be doubted that the study of black men in America is a legitimate and urgent academic endeavor. If this be so and if we are determined to launch this field of study successfully, farsighted goals and program are required (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University 1969: 14).

Conceived of as an academic discipline, Black Studies needed acceptance by the academic community. One way to convince members of the academy that Black Studies is an academic discipline was to have the blueprint of Black Studies program sanctified by members of the academic community. Sanctification involves establishment of Black Studies as a program in accordance with the existing university academic policies and procedures.

The Faculty Committee on African and Afro-American Studies, formed in May 1968, consisted of nine faculty members and two students nominated by the Ad Hoc Committee of Black students, had the initial tasks: 1) to find out the status of existing courses on African and Afro-American subjects and how to increase these courses; 2) to investigate the possibility of developing consortium with Boston area academic institutions; and 3) to study the possibility for an undergraduate field of concentration in Afro-American Studies (Harvard University __: 20-21). After some months of study, the Committee came up with

a blueprint of Black Studies. The goals of Black Studies:

1. Development of undergraduate degree programs in Afro-American Studies.
2. Appointment of new faculty members--term, tenure, and visiting--in Afro-American Studies and other degree-granting programs with the University to conduct these degree programs and offer appropriate courses.
3. Greater emphasis on the experience of Afro-American Studies offered by Department and Committees.
4. Stimulation of increased research in Afro-American Studies throughout the University.
5. The establishment of a research center or institute concerned with Afro-American Studies.
6. Generation of funds to achieve these goals and others which will emerge over time (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University 1969: 15).

Along with these goals were specific recommended actions which, among other things, included the appointment of a standing Committee on Afro-American Studies in charge of faculty recruitment, program development and governance, and establishment of a Center or Institute for Afro-American Studies (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University 1969: 15-18). The Faculty of Arts and Sciences met and passed the Rosovsky Committee proposal in February 1969. A standing Faculty Committee on Afro-American Studies was appointed by the University president to recruit faculty and to organize courses for the fall of 1969. The standing Faculty Committee adopted the Rosovsky Committee recommendation that Afro-American Studies, at the start, be a combined major, and in the future to be a major on its own.

Supportive of the symbol--Black Studies is an academic discipline--used by the Rosovsky Committee was the overriding emphasis on research, a basic and important component of a

legitimate academic discipline. The goals, defined by the Rosovsky Committee (see page 24), underscored the need to stimulate research and to establish a research center for Afro-American Studies which would "provide intellectual leadership, a physical locale, and sufficient resources for consideration of all aspects of the Afro-American experience" (Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Harvard University 1969: 18).

The Rosovsky Committee's attempt to create a niche for Black Studies through legitimate channels and procedures was interrupted by the student strike on campus. Just as when a "Tentative Proposal for Concentration in Afro-American Studies" was released by the standing Faculty Committee, members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) occupied the University Hall to dramatize the demand for the abolition of ROTC. This scenario was followed immediately by a strike wherein the militant students included in their list of demands that student members of standing Faculty Committee on Afro-American Studies must exercise voting right in the selection and retention of faculty for Black Studies. As a result of the strike, the faculty approved: 1) the participation of six students with voting right on the selection and retention of faculty on the committee in charge of developing Black Studies program; and 2) creation of Afro-American Studies as full-fledged department.

The student strike and its subsequent effects, did not, in principle, upset the task of the Rosovsky Committee, later assumed by the Faculty Standing Committee, to create a niche for

Black Studies. The task of getting a program of Black Studies off the ground was taken by the Faculty Standing Committee which then included six students who exercised voting rights.

Apart from getting the demands approved by the faculty, the student strike served symbolic function for the Black students who solicited the assistance of SDS members to dramatize their demands in relation to Black Studies. The strike did not, in principle, contradict the task of the two committees--Rosovsky and Faculty Standing Committee--to create a niche for Black Studies in the University. The demands launched by Black students and SDS members were amendments to the tentative proposal for a Black Studies program. Among Black students, approval of these amendments was symbolic of self-determination as well as ethnic control over the Black Studies program.

Alliance formation. At the outset of the creation of Black Studies program at HU, alliance formation with another group was an unlikely political strategy because the University administration sanctioned the formation of the Rosovsky Committee which incorporated Black student participation. However, the April 9 (1969) event conditioned the need for alliance formation as political strategy. Black students, disenchanted about the absence of student votes in the recruitment and hiring of faculty for Black Studies, saw the event appropriate to launch their demand, student members of the Faculty Standing Committee must exercise voting right in the selection and retention of faculty for Black Studies. To do so, they formed an

alliance with SDS, consisted mainly of white students. While SDS did not represent a particular ethnic group, it was, however, an interest group supportive of the demand of another interest group--the Black students at HU.

Traditional ethnic symbols. The humanities component of Black Studies at HU focuses upon the contents of traditional ethnic symbols--language, religion, literature, arts and music --drawn principally from two cultural contexts, African and Afro-American. The study of language includes major African languages--Swahili, Wolof, Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, Tve and Mandingo. The study of religion explores the spiritual experience from slavery to contemporary Black America as well as the traditional African religious concepts and philosophy. Literary study covers Afro-American prose and poetry from slavery to date, including African and Afro-Caribbean literary compositions. Arts and music draw their contents from Africa and Afro-America.

The traditional ethnic symbols, used as frameworks of ethnic experience in the classroom, perform certain functions for Black students at HU. First, the ethnic experience built around every traditional ethnic symbol creates a sense of self and group identity or, by and large, a sense of distinctiveness. The sense of individual and collective being is conditioned through re-creation of ethnic culture and performance of rituals and ceremonies. Ritual and ceremonial gatherings performed in the classroom settings serve as occasions for

communication, another function of traditional ethnic symbols in the context of HU Black Studies. The revival of ethnic culture through study of the contents of traditional ethnic symbols perform a socialization function, i.e., the ceremonials and rituals involved the study of traditional ethnic symbols indocrinate, condition the moods and sentiments, and affirm the beliefs of Black students.

Chicano Studies at UCLA

To understand the ethnic symbolic processes involved in Chicano Studies at UCLA, it is necessary to look at Chicano Studies in the context of the Chicano Studies Center, an organized research unit established in 1969. It is possible that through thoughtful consideration of certain features of the Center that one might get a sense of the symbols and symbolic processes involved in Chicano Studies at UCLA.

The main purpose of the Center is "to facilitate interdisciplinary academic research related to the Chicano experience." The objectives are:

1. Initiate and support faculty and student development in Chicano Studies
2. Identify, explore, and document original research on critical issues facing the Chicano community
3. Support the creation and development of Chicano Studies at other institutions, and the organization of professional associations, conference, and meetings devoted to Chicano Studies
4. Facilitate public service by focusing the unique resources of the university on problems in the Chicano community (El Mirlo Canta de Noticatlan 1977-1978).

The Center has five programmatic units: academic pro-

gram, supportive research publications, bibliographic research and collection development, and student activities and community affairs. The academic program unit is charged with the development of Chicano Studies curriculum and recruitment and development of Chicano faculty. The supportive research unit coordinates faculty, students and staff research. The publications unit, through the Center publications, disseminates current research in Chicano Studies. The student activities and community affairs unit promotes, maintains and assures student and faculty support and active participation in different programs. The same unit tries to engage the university with the Chicano community.

Chicano Studies is research. That Chicano Studies is research is a symbol used by Chicano Studies at UCLA. By calling itself Chicano Studies Center, rather than program or department, it proclaims research as the main thrust of the Center. Use of the symbol is evident in the broad publication program of the Center which disseminates researches and other pertinent work in Chicano Studies. The Monograph Series, for example, disseminates findings of research on the Mexican population in the United States. The Anthology Series focuses on the social sciences and the arts. The Occasional Paper Series releases previously published materials. The Bibliographic and Reference Series deals with the bibliographic development of Chicano Studies. The Center is the institutional sponsor of Atzlan-International Journal of Chicano

Studies Research.

The overriding emphasis on research is further indicated by the existence of three (out of five) units dedicated to the pursuance of Chicano Studies research--supportive research, publications and bibliographic research and collective development units.

Research productivity of the Center is manifested by its accomplishments from 1976 to 1977: 32,515 journal and 46,796 Center publications had been produced, 165 different articles published, and 167 different authors had had their work published in the journal or Center publication (El Mirlo Canta de Noticatlan 1977-1978: 2).

Research, as a symbolic strategy, should enable the Chicano Studies Center to legitimize its presence, with less political tension, in the academy because research productivity is one vital index of success of a discipline or area of study in a major American educational institution. Research output, in fact, is a recognized legitimate strategy by which an academic program or discipline may gain veneration in an academic setting. In view of the seeming research productivity of the Center, creation of political justification for the Center based on ethnic politics may be of minor concern among advocates of Chicano Studies at UCLA.

Chicano Studies is multidisciplinary. Another principal concern of the Chicano Studies Center is its academic program, bachelor of arts in Chicano Studies, designed "to provide systematic instruction for liberal arts and pre-

professional majors who wish concentrated study of Chicano experience" (University of California at Los Angeles 1978: 25). This academic program, which prepares students for graduate study and for public service careers, is multidisciplinary in approach. An interdepartmental major at the College of Arts and Sciences, it cuts across social science disciplines as well as other professional fields: anthropology, economics, English, history, psychology, sociology, Spanish, and education. None of the required courses is titled Chicano Studies for there is no Chicano Studies department or program within the College. It should be mentioned that some of the required courses are taught by non-Chicanos, e.g., anthropology X-- methods and techniques of ethnohistory is taught by a staff member of the anthropology department. Courses taught by Chicano faculty members in any of the above areas, for the most part, directly address Chicano experience, e.g., sociology X-- ethnic and status group is taught by a Chicano faculty.

The symbolic functions of Chicano Studies is two-fold. The incorporation of Chicano Studies courses with already established disciplines and areas of study should make Chicano Studies a respectable academic program. Advocates (students, faculty, staff and researchers) of Chicano Studies may not deal anymore with the usual attack on ethnic study program as lacking in intellectual substance. The discipline ideology, in other words, may no longer stage debates and ethnic power action. The multidisciplinary program and visible emphasis

on research create the same effect, a respected area of study.

Community involvement. Another symbolism that Chicano Studies Center utilizes is community involvement. The fourth objective of the Center (see page 28) spells out the Center's commitment to providing public service to the Chicano community.

During the school year 1976-1977 the Center involved itself with the Chicano community in a variety of ways. The Center got involved in the desegregation of city public schools. Some research efforts focused on the labor history of Chicanos, the current status of the Chicano and Mexican workers, Mexican immigration and the way Mexicans are treated by the system in the educational, social and economic sectors. The ultimate intention of these kinds of research efforts was to influence planning and policy implementation affecting Chicanos.

Through community involvement symbolism, Chicano Studies Center tries to create a linkage between the school and community. The linkage-creation process is a demonstration of Chicano Studies' attempt to accomplish two objectives. First, it is an effort to relate educational process to the Chicano community. Second, it is also an effort to legitimize the presence of the Center on campus, i.e., by being a viable educational enterprise.

Summary of Findings

This presentation started out by elaborating briefly on the influence of ethnic politics on American education. Through case studies of three ethnic study programs in three educational

institutions (SFSU, HU and UCLA), this presentation attempted to demonstrate the influence of ethnic politics on the organization of ethnic study programs. The case study was interested in demonstrating utility of an alternative approach to look at ethnic study program.

At the outset, this presentation proposed that ethnic study programs create symbolic strategies to achieve certain group purposes. Available data demonstrated variations in symbolic strategies among programs. At this juncture, questions requiring answers are the ones seeking explanation of the variations in symbolic strategies and also of the importance of symbolic strategies. To explain variation in symbolic strategies across programs, it will be helpful to categorize them. One category consists of traditional ethnic symbols like language, religion, dance, and music. Traditional symbols serve certain purposes. These symbols are basic to the creation of distinctiveness and social boundaries (Cohen 1974). Ethnic study programs such as the ones at SFSU and HU have used these symbols as structures and contents of formal and informal learning experience. As traditional ethnic symbols are recreated and reinvented in the school setting by students and faculty, they provide linkage with ethnic group's past history and culture. While it seems that usage of traditional ethnic symbols may promote conservatism, these symbols, in fact, may be potential source of slogans and other symbols to promote solidarity among ethnic group members at times of ethnic mobilization. Another

category consists of emergent symbols which are invented in response to the exigencies of time and situation. These symbols evoke emotions and impel men to action. The best example is third world symbolism, an invention at SFSU. Third world symbolism created a political atmosphere on campus conducive to the creation of SFSU ethnic study program. Third world symbolism led to alliance formation between Blacks and other minority students who perceived themselves as third world or colonized people. The alliance under third world symbolism sustained the student strike on campus which eventually led to the school administration's accommodation of students' demands, including the demand for a separate Black Studies program and a School of Ethnic Studies. An emergent symbol, as in the case of third world symbolism, is effective while its power lasts. Once the nature and purpose of an organization change, an emergent symbol may lose its power to evoke emotions and impel men to action. A third category is institutionalized symbols; these symbols are present in the environing system such as a university system. Because of the legitimate nature (being acknowledged by the host system), symbols such as academic discipline, research and community involvement are crucial to the growth and survival of an ethnic study program. Perhaps, these are the kinds of symbols perennially applied and constantly validated by ethnic group members. Many academic programs in the university, in fact, are preoccupied in applying and validating these symbols.

The three ethnic study programs have shown variations in symbolic strategies. Differences among the three universities, perhaps, are the greatest sources of variation in symbolic strategies. In each university there is interaction of ethnic population, academic traditions and campus politics. To illustrate this point, we need to go back to the SFSU ethnic study program. Third world symbolism is unique to SFSU because of the high visibility of students with different ethnic backgrounds. Once third world symbolism came to the surface, it received tremendous popular support among ethnic students. The visible ethnic communities in the area through ethnic organizations also extended support to Black students' cause. The ethnic students became the protagonists of the political process involved in the organization of SFSU Black Studies program. Black students, involved in the creation of HU Black Studies, did not employ third world symbolism despite their alliance with other student groups because of the absence of ethnic-based student populations on campus. Instead academic discipline symbolism became the dominant symbolic strategy. One reason is that HU is a private university holding to academic excellence. Academic discipline symbolism is congruent with HU's avowed symbol, academic excellence. At HU the protagonists involved in the organization of the ethnic study program consisted of Black students and university faculty who were strong about academic discipline. Despite the UCLA's ethnic study program's similar emphasis on academic discipline,

it is unique in its own way. UCLA has set up a research-based ethnic study program with academic programs embedded with established traditional disciplines and professional fields. By using research symbolism quite effectively, UCLA has made its ethnic study program academically strong and respected.

The avowed objective of symbol creation and manipulation, as demonstrated by available data, is the institutionalization of an ethnic study program in a university setting. To accomplish this objective, the symbolic processes have to create linkages with the following: the past, local ethnic community, and academic community. Traditional ethnic symbols have been applied in the development of ethnic study program because this effort hopes to establish sentimental linkage with the past, a condition which arouses emotions and compels ethnic members to action. It is also a connection to the larger ethnic group. Linkage with the local ethnic community is achieved through community-based ethnic study program. Community involvement symbolism has two purposes: 1) to gain support of the local ethnic community; and 2) to validate the program in the university community. The latter is based on the assumption that community service will help justify an academic program in the university. Nexus with the academic community, perhaps, is the most crucial function of symbolic processes. Academic discipline, research, multidisciplinary integrations, including community involvement

symbolisms are applied by ethnic group members to create a permanent niche for an ethnic study program in the university setting.

This presentation has used ethnicity and symbolic strategies as two crucial concepts in this study. Having conceptualized and operationalized them, it is only appropriate to re-think their meanings. Ethnicity implies differences, real or unreal and biological or cultural, applied to a variety of situations. Actually there seems to be only two sides of ethnicity: 1) traditional symbolic forms of ethnicity, derived from identity and culture, which are neutral; and 2) applied symbolic forms (class and strategy) which are political. The traditional symbolic forms of ethnicity are the cultural stuff which could be real and unreal. On the one hand, applied symbolic forms of ethnicity are the strategies used to advance individual and collective interests. Abner Cohen's symbolic strategies have been, so far, useful in unraveling the ethnic processes involved in the organization of ethnic study program. Because of limitations in the kinds of materials used in this presentation it has not always been possible to describe all of Cohen's six symbolic strategies. The same limitation has handicapped exploration and description of social and economic relationships involved in symbolic processes, including their effects upon the survival of an ethnic study program. A process-oriented approach such as ethnography might demonstrate the six processes. In using Cohen's symbolic strategies, one should exercise some caution. We begin by asking whether all ethnic and informal groups are political, always preoccupied in the pursuit of indi-

vidual and collective interests. Because of the vulnerability of an ethnic group such as an ethnic study program to all kinds of political, economic and social pressures from its environing system, ethnic group members are likely to create and manipulate symbolic strategies which are not the same or complimentary at all times. Therefore, it is only appropriate to explore and describe competing symbolic strategies and their effects on the well-being of an ethnic study program.

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THE PROSPECTIVE INNER-CITY TEACHER
AS ETHNOGRAPHER

By

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To Professor John Singleton who stated in a paper presented to the AAA in New Orleans on November 21, 1969.

There is a need for:

- 1) better understanding of the social advantage of cultural difference;
- 2) better ability to make common schooling a multi-cultural enterprise for all its participants, not just for minority group members;
- 3) more realistic views of what the school can accomplish as an instrument of social goals.

As my mentor I owe my new approach to life and my occupation to him. For this, he has my undying devotion.

To Professor Vivian Richman, my friend, who gave me the opportunity to teach at the college level. Her encouragement and faith afforded the opportunity to share my years of experience in the urban education scene with some future teachers of America.

SCHOOLING HAS EVOLVED...AS THE KEY MECHANISM TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL INTEGRATION IN A SOCIETY MADE UP OF MANY DIFFERENT NATIONS, ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS AND RACIAL GROUPS OF PEOPLE.

FOREWORD

Mine was an unique experience, so this will be an unique paper.

It is the story of a non-formal educator who was given the opportunity to teach at the college level for one academic year.

It will describe why I accepted the challenge, what was done that was different and the impact it made. I sincerely hope you enjoy it as much as I did.

Alice E. Carter

WHY MULTI-CULTURAL EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS?

What price is exacted by America when into its maw
it sucks other cultures of the world and processes them?
What do people have to lose before they can qualify as
true Americans?

America is not a melting pot. It is long past time for
her to understand and appreciate the diversity of her
ethnic elements, to stop feeling that she can assimilate
individuals but not groups of individuals it is time
for a new cultural pluralism."

Michael Novak

~~Since~~ Since the Seventies, there has been much emphasis on America
being a pluralistic society as opposed to a melting pot. Unfortunately,
the emphasis has not led to significant change.

1/ Novak, Michael, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (Politics
and Culture in the Seventies): New York: The MacMillan Co. 1971.

INTRODUCTION

Let me introduce myself. I am an educator who is not part of the System. As a community activist in school affairs with twelve years experience as the Director of Education of the Urban League of Pittsburgh, I have been organizing parents to hold the schools accountable for the learning of their children. In addition, I have intervened in violent racial conflicts in the schools, provided support services for students in urban schools that were lacking (i.e. counseling, career information, advocacy for drop-outs and suspension cases), and working for racial integration and quality education in both individual local schools and in the City School System at large.

I like to describe myself as a change agent in education. I use the term 'change agent' in the sense described by Goodenough in Cooperation in Change -- as a person working with the wants and needs of parents, kids and professional educators, seeking programs of action that will be mutually supportive of their different aspirations.

When the opportunity presented itself to teach a course in Urban Education in a local Teacher Training Institution in this locale, I jumped at the chance for I viewed it as an extension of the Change Agent role. A very meaningful extension

CHANGE AGENT AT WORK IN A TEACHER TRAINING INSTITUTION

It was easy to become a change agent at Chatham College 1/ for their approach to the training of teachers has been unique since its inception. The unique feature of the education sequence at Chatham is the early field placement experience, which is required as part of each class in the sequence. These placements consist of one half-day per week beginning with the second semester of the Freshman year and continues until graduation. This allows the student to integrate the theories of education with practical experience through observation, tutoring and supervision of for-real classrooms in the inner city over a three year period.

In other words, the field placements allow early exposure to teaching and early evaluation of one's attraction to the profession. If the student elects to stay with it, or is not counseled out, she begins student teaching with a strong sense of self-direction in her senior year. Students certified through Chatham enter the job market (hopefully) with a wider range of classroom experiences and a greater number of practice hours in different school settings.

In these field placements, the student is expected to keep a journal giving her constant feedback and close supervision from the faculty. In fact, advising is a constant process. Discussion of attitudes and experiences enjoys a strong place in the curriculum along with lectures and dissemination of materials. Videotaped sessions provide self-evaluation and peer criticism and is quite popular with the students. Each of these features of the program reflect the determination of enhance individual growth.

Teaching in the Urban Setting, Education 322, is the last required course before practice teaching at Chatham College, in Pittsburgh, Pa. I taught that course during the 1978-79 academic year.

Principles for Course development:

- 1) ethnographic techniques to give the future teachers a reason for dealing with the cultural behaviors of the children they will be teaching in urban settings,
- 2) studies of specific ethnic groups to recognize the pseudo-democratic system under which we operate in this country.
(Discrimination against minority groups and the disadvantaged is the fundamental cause of illiteracy. This discrimination must be exposed and then recognized as the major force in the educational process.)
- 3) development of individual ethnic identity for internalization of the problem. The teacher ... is the one in-school variable that makes a difference in the learning process of the child. 2/
- 4) professional commitment and self-confidence to give new teachers a personal and intellectual contact with the issue of teaching minority and disadvantaged learners.

2/ William F. White, Tactics for Teaching the Disadvantaged,
(New York: McGraw Hill, 1971)

Building on the previous teacher's syllabus, I added an introduction to the participant-observer fieldwork technique to prepare the students for their required participation in an urban classroom, and to structure the kinds of reports they would make of that experience. After they received an introductory manual for doing ethnography 3/ and after adding two or three class sessions on the development of that technique, their task was clear.

As a checkpoint of that last statement, the regular Anthropology Professor on campus was asked to serve as guest lecturer during the last of these sessions ... an invitation he never expected. I wanted him to reinforce the students' interest in acquiring participant-observer skills by saying: "You can do it, kid!" Since he is a friend of long-standing, he stuck to my script and after his lecture (early in the course) the students were willing to give it a try. (Nothing like being reinforced by an expert) It is remarkable what credibility will do.

My first lecture to the students asked them the following:

1. Do you have an essentially positive view of yourself?
2. Do you have strong compassionate feeling for your fellow man?
3. Do you love learning?
4. Do you plan to work at teaching?
5. Can you laugh at yourself?

As anticipated, they readily answered "yes" to the first four. After all, hadn't self-evaluation been part of their training since the second semester of their Freshman year? However, they had to think about the fifth question. To save time, I asked them to write their thoughts and reactions to that question in one paragraph for me to review and react to. I was

searching for the 'Hidden Curriculum'

Another key factor in the success of the course was the use of some very special guest lecturers - my friends from previous school experiences. Imagine the excitement of the class when the Superintendent of Schools served in this capacity for a class of 15 students! His subject was 'the prognosis of the teaching profession' - a most timely topic since all of them were worried about finding a job after graduation. Not many teachers, future or current, are afforded the opportunity to chat with a School Superintendent from a large city in a relaxed setting for over an hour. In addition, he thoroughly enjoyed a friendly audience for a change.

Most of the "professionals" who agreed to serve as guest lecturers (gratis) were delighted to do so, for it had been years since most of them had taught - some had never taught at the college level. Since I fit into that latter category, I could understand their delight at being asked. These interactions gave the students another side of those 'in authority' - the human side each of us possesses - for only the 'warm' ones were invited to participate. I picked my kind of people.

And wisely so. Here are a few of the student reactions in answer to this question: What do you most appreciate about the way this course is being taught? What are its best features?

"The guest speakers are the high point of the course,

" ... an exciting element was that there were many guest speakers to highlight the learning experience,

"A community resource person is a good alternative to standard university professors,

"The course was taught with complete openness and honesty.
The several outside visitors gave us relevant information."

Need I say more?

Every syllabus has a course description; but, most don't give a reason why. Therefore, the students were requested through brainstorming to put into their own words what we would be doing over a three month period. This was not done until the third class session. The first two were devoted to explaining what I had in mind for them. In actuality, this was their first verbal quiz without calling it that. I wanted to know if our lines of communication were open. After much wrangling and erasing, they came up with this definition:

To incorporate into the classroom curriculum a study of ethnic groups enabling children to have a factual expose to them in a nonjudgmental manner to eliminate discrimination in this country on the grounds of ethnicity.

The next chore was to change the word 'journal' to 'log'. They had become so accustomed to recording their lesson plans or complaining that the supervising teacher would not let them do anything meaningful or expressing their frustration on not being able to reach the children that a new name for the reporting process was necessary. The aim of the 'log' was for them to include information that would answer the question: "What is happening in this particular culture as the kids see it"?

They also had to choose one child as informant, not to be confused with squealer. They were required to ask one of the kids to describe what was happening in 'School A's second period third grade class' and write it down. You are being asked to do this to give you a new awareness of your own values and the cultural premises that influence your own behavior as you work in that setting.

The basic difference between this and your earlier journals is that it should be more than an accounting of your time 'on the job'. It should be a careful analysis of what is happening while you are there and what those happenings mean to the particular groups involved.

All entries were made on the left hand side of a stenographic notebook. This enabled me to comment on the right hand side of the page when the logs were turned in twice during the semester. Sometimes I commented on detail on a negative perception or questioned their reason for the entry. They seemed to enjoy this written interaction. Some were compelled to write rebuttals or to stay after class to get further clarification or to confront me verbally. It was exciting ... and I was getting to know them better.

They were also challenged to have their classroom situation become their 'cultural laboratory', by carefully observing and recording situations, events, behaviors and ideas. They had to describe the characters in believable terms ... "What does Miss X, your supervising teacher, look like?" Most of them had never thought of including that in their journals. "Is she black or white - young or old - pretty or homely - exciting or dull - fashionable or dowdy"? Once they took a good look, the journals (excuse me - logs) began to read better and I had a clearer picture of what was, or was not, going on in that particular culture.

Their classrooms took on a new meaning for them also. They began to convey meanings to observed actions that were usually taken for granted or misunderstood. The big surprise in most cases was that the child they initially labeled as 'bad news' or 'trouble' became the one most of them chose for their case study.^{a/} This time around they really wanted to know why that youngster was behaving in such a manner. The second choice for such an in-depth look was the shy child they were unable to reach during the regular class period.

^{a/} The case study was a requirement in this Course. One child was to be singled out for close observation and in-depth information gathering. (e.g. demographic information, test information and classroom observation)

Obviously, I was overjoyed that they were seeking sufficient data in order to change what was. See what a bit of imagination can do?

They were not asked to do this in a vacuum; for Spradley-McCurdy had spelled it out for them quite succinctly:

Anthropologists employ a variety of field methods in context of a single study:

- a. participant observation
- b. structured interviews
- c. genealogies
- d. life histories
- e. questionnaires
- f. psychological testing.

It was necessary to explain that if this isn't what they thought anthropologists did (Margaret Mead syndrome), we were experimenting with cultural anthropology which simply means making sense of unfamiliar ways of life by watching, listening, talking and joining into the activities. It's a neat discipline - some dig, others don't.

Our most difficult discussions centered on distinguishing between acculturation (exchange of cultural traits) and assimilation (ethnic minority group attaining cultural characteristics of the dominant ethnic group). Ethnocentrism they readily understood - probably because it is a much softer term than racism. (I must remember that the next time I give a workshop on racism: "You, sir, are ethnocentric - did you realize it"?)

One of my chosen textbooks for the course was supportive of the notion at Chatham that one does not necessarily major in education. Rather, certification is pursued in conjunction with a major in another area of interest. This major can be a traditional academic department, or it can consist of an inter-departmental or self-designed problem area major. Banks^{4/}(1975) gave them six key concepts for a conceptual curriculum (which was related to change). He connected the concepts to specific disciplines:

Acculturation through Anthropology
 Consumption-Production through Economics
 Immigration-Migration through Geography
 Conflict through Psychology
 Power through Political Science
 Racism through Sociology

Each of these disciplines has a direct contact with History. Therefore, whatever their announced major, there was something in this textbook for them.

I also used a pre-post test approach to ethnic awareness which was taken from Banks. It was an open matrix which asked each student to give specific ethnic contributions to American culture from six minority groups in six general areas: Technological, social, economic, political, cultural and historical, (See Figure I) The Pre-Test had many blanks and these were not your average students!

Ethnic Contributions To American Culture

<u>Contributions</u>	<u>First Americans</u>	<u>Spanish-Speaking Americans</u>	<u>Afro-Americans</u>	<u>Euro-Americans</u>	<u>Asian-Americans</u>	<u>Middle East Americans</u>
Technological						
Social						
Economic						
Political						
Cultural						
Historical						

(Fig I)

The first three chapters of Banks were assigned as weekly readings with classroom discussion. Subsequent chapters, on specific ethnic groups designed to enable students to be able to fill in the Grid in Figure I at course completion, were handled as chosen group assignments where creativity, insight and humor were the criteria on which the classroom presentation was judged and graded.

They also had four weeks to develop a collage of their ethnic selves.... particularly as it relates to the rest-of-the-world. This produced some creative results and a new awareness for all. Many of them had never thought of themselves in that manner and went all out to develop the idea. One used a styrofoam wig holder to show which parts of her brain were producing what ethnic awareness. . Another had a lifesize silhouette of her body that was splashed with every ethnic (black) cutout she could find. I was so proud of the results that they were put on display in my office for a two-week period to see if my colleagues could figure out which students they were. Some could, some couldn't - and they thought they knew them well.

One other strong component of the course was concerned methods for the teaching of reading at all levels. This was done by one of my colleagues. The rationale was based on my previous experiences in the schools with our Reading Is Fundamental Program. Most of the disadvantaged kids had no motivation to read, and therefore, didn't - and no one seemed to care. I wanted these future teachers to learn methods of integrating reading into their regular subject matter at every level - even in ethnic studies. Who else stresses that reading should be taught in every classroom?

Conclusion

This paper has suggested three ethnographic approaches in teacher education:

- 1) The possibility of doing a 'log' because the word journal had been corrupted prior to my joining the faculty. When I asked them, therefore, to make descriptive field notes, the name of the notebooks they were using had to be changed,
- 2) Intensive case studies of individual kids in their classes who could serve as good informants. The case studies were to be kids they had shown an interest in for whatever reason,
- 3) an ethnic self-awareness for teachers.

I am not presumptuous enough to feel something revolutionary happened in Education 322 for two academic semesters; but, it is clear that seeds have been planted; for this reported change in course content and structure is currently being taught by the Dept. Chairperson without alteration.

According to Research for Better Schools:

"Multicultural education is a relatively new and distinctly different approach to the preparation of children for their role as citizens in democratic society. (not too different from my students' df.)

and

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) lists the following in one of its principles for multicultural education:

"It presumes an awareness of teaching as a cross-cultural encounter."

Hopefully, Chatham College in Pittsburgh, Pa. has become a pacesetter with this trend.

FOOTNOTES:

- 1/ Chatham College is a private, four-year institution for women located in the heart of Pittsburgh, PA
- 2/ Wm. F. White, Tactics for Teaching the Disadvantaged, (N.Y. McGraw Hill, 1971)
- 3/ The Cultural Experience (Ethnography in Complex Society) James P. Spardley and David W. McCurdy (Chicago, Palo Alto, Toronto, Science Research Associates, Inc., 1972)
- 4/ Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies, James A. Banks (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1975, 1979)

REFERENCES:

Those readers wanting an in-depth look at teaching in an urban setting from a cross-cultural perspective, are recommended to consult:

1. Ribbin' , Jivin' and Playin' the Dozens, Herbert L. Foster (Cambridge, Mass: Ballinger 1974)
2. Culture of Poverty, A critique Eleanor Burke Leacock (N.Y. Simon and Schuster 1971)
3. Multicultural Education for Practitioners, Florence V. Davis w/Barbara Z. Presseisen (submitted to NIE by Citizen Ed. Component, Research for Better Schools, November, 1979)
4. The Rise of the Urmeltable Ethnics (A New Political Force of the Seventies) Michael Novak (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1971)

ETHNIC CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN CULTURE (DATA RETRIEVAL CHART)

CONTRIBUTIONS	FIRST AMERICANS	SPANISH SPEAKING	AFRO-AMERICANS	EUROPEAN AMERICANS (NORTHERN SOUTHERN OR RUSSIA)	ASIAN AMERICANS (VIETNAMESE CHINA)	MIDDLE EAST
TECHNOLOGICAL						
SOCIAL						
ECONOMIC						
POLITICAL						CC
CC CULTURAL						
HISTORICAL						

a collage of self

Before starting this activity, amass a generous stockpile of picture magazines, newspapers, comic books, travel brochures, catalogs, greeting cards, picture postcards, illustrated calendars, book advertisements and any other picture sources available.

Create a collage of yourself. Cut out an assortment of pictures and words which reflect your tastes, interests, hobbies, talents, leisure activities, favorite things, philosophy and ideals. Mount the items on any convenient background material - craft paper, wrapping paper, construction paper, poster board, cardboard, burlap or any other cloth remnant. Collages can be any manageable size or shape desired. The background material may be part of the design, or cut away to create irregular shapes.

Let the class examine and then discuss their interpretations of your collage. Encourage pupils to talk about the things which they have discovered about you. Then, ask the class to create collages of themselves. Consider this as an outside assignment if the students have easy access to the necessary source materials.

Older students may enjoy making three dimensional collages by pasting words and pictures to cubes, cones, cylinders, pyramids and polyhedral forms constructed from cardboard and masking tape. There are any number of interesting variations that can be achieved through imaginative use of materials.

Provide for adequate discussion and display of the completed collages.

CHATHAM COLLEGE
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

Education 322
TEACHING IN AN URBAN SETTING

Fall 1978
Carter
Rm 111 ext.368

This course is designed as a formal series of experiences to help future teachers understand the complexities of and competencies needed for teaching in urban areas, primarily the inner cities. As a required course, it will deal with instruction and management across all grade levels (K-12). It will include a field assignment, classroom observations, modular development and an ethnographic approach to cultural difference.

TEXT: James A. Banks: Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1975

Requirements for the course:

A field placement in a public school identified by the instructor.

A journal documenting field experiences, readings which focus on the educational issues of minorities and impoverished children and youth, and personal attitudinal development and changes. A case study as part of the journal will also be required.

The development of a one week teaching resource unit around ethnic group, written survey and an oral presentation.

Evaluation will be based upon attendance and participation in class sessions, the journal, written assignments, field placement and the resource unit.

Suggested Reading

Foster, Herbert L., ribbin', jivin' and playin' the dozens (The Un-recognized Dilemma of Inner City Schools). Cambridge, Mass, Ballinger Publishing Company 1974 (Chapter 4)

Spradley, Jas. P.E. McCurdy, David W., The Cultural Experience (Ethnography in Complex Society), Science Research Associates 1972.

Fall 1978

Education 322

TEACHING IN AN URBAN SETTING

TEXT: Banks, James A. Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies.
Allyn and Bacon, Inc. 1975.

(I) September 11, 1978

Course Introduction
(Read Banks, Chapter I & II)

September 13, 1978

Discussion of Readings.
Approach to Intergroup Education

September 15, 1978

Approach to Intergroup Education (cont.)
(Read: Banks, Chapter III)

(II) September 18, 1978

Examination of Attitudes and Prejudices
(Pre-Test, Ethnic Literacy Test)

September 20, 1978

Discussion of Readings
(Organization and Management Techniques
for Ethnic Studies)
(Read Banks, Chapter IV)

September 22, 1978

Conferences

(III) September 25, 1978

Diagnosis and Intervention
The Case Study

September 27, 1978

Introduction to Ethnography
(Read: Spradley & McCurdy)

September 29, 1978

Conferences

(IV) October 2, 1978

Review
(based on conference results)

October 4, 1978

Teaching Reading in Content Areas

Guest Lecturer

Teaching in an Urban Setting
Syllabus
Page 2

<u>October 6, 1978</u>	Teaching Reading in Content Areas (formal class)
(V) October 9, 1978	Selecting Appropriate Instructional & Reading Material
October 11, 1978	Diagnosing Reading Difficulties
<u>October 13, 1978</u>	Conferences
(VI) October 16, 1978	Preparation of collage Discussion of Assigned Readings & Role playing
October 18, 1978	<u>Special Guest Lecturer: Barbara Sizemore</u> <u>University of Pittsburgh</u>
<u>October 20, 1978</u>	The Psychology of Teaching (from personal point of view) Guest Lecturer..... Dr. Kay Atman
(VII) October 23, 1978	<u>Checkpoint on self Profile Preparation</u> (Ethnic Literacy Test, Post-Test)
October 25, 1978	<u>Banks: European Americans</u> (Chapter 6)
<u>October 27, 1978</u>	<u>Banks: (formal Class) Afro-American</u> (Chapter 7)
(VIII) October 30, 1978	<u>Banks: Asian Americans</u> (Chapter 9)
November 1, 1978	<u>Banks: Multiethnic Units: Concepts &</u> <u>Teaching (Chapter 12)</u>
November 3, 1978	<u>Group Discussions of Visits</u> (problem-solving sessions) "Impact of Teaching Style on Classroom Management"

Teaching in an Urban Setting
Syllabus
Page 3

(IX) November 6, 1978	Role of Administrators in making prognosis of teaching profession Guest Lecturer.....Dr. Jerry Olson, Superin- tendent of Schools
November 8, 1978	<u>Banks</u>
<u>November 10, 1978</u>	<u>The Middle School Concept</u> (visit to National Middle School Conference)
(X) November 13, 1978	<u>Parents As Partners</u> (case studies due)
November 15, 1978	
November 17, 1978	- Review of Resource Units
(XI) November 20, 1978	
November 22, 1978	
November 24, 1978	THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY
(XII) November 27, 1978	<u>Survival in the Multi-Ethnic Classroom</u> (problem-solving)
November 29, 1978	STUDENT TEACHING MEETING WITH DR. RICHMAN <u>Logs Due</u>
December 1, 1978	<u>Transferring Teaching Skills</u> (review of accumulated skills and knowledge)
(XIII) December 4, 1978	<u>Value of In-Service</u>
December 6, 1978	<u>It's the Law</u> Necessary for teacher survival in modern classroom Guest Lecturer Dr. Eugene Lincoln

Teaching in an Urban Setting
Syllabus
Page 4

December 8, 1978

(XIV) December 11, 1978

Summary - last formal session

December 13, 1978

THE HISTORY AND COLONIAL PHILOSOPHY
OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

By

Petronella Clare Kaweesa
Foundations of Education
University of Pittsburgh

THE HISTORY AND COLONIAL PHILOSOPHY
OF EDUCATION IN AFRICA

The Different Kinds of Educational Philosophy

When one talks about philosophy, one thinks of going down to the fundamental principles of knowing the problem and finding answers to solve it. In the field of education, philosophers have dealt with ideas. Through their experiences, they have developed intellectual, well-organized systems of thinking which are termed in each period in history as different educational philosophies. In the past century, scholars' minds were more or less preoccupied with an assumption that "progress in knowledge was guaranteed to the degree that they were capable of registering and describing the variety of data to be found in the past and present." (5:iii) This would be a perfect assumption if we were to consider knowledge to be just an acquaintance with things and events. If this does not hold true, then we can believe that knowledge must be a means toward wisdom and personal maturity.

From the time of the ancient Greeks until the present day, man has believed in finding the truth through educational thought. Civilization after civilization has battled with the problem between giving a quality education or imparting a quantity of information. It is apparent that education is contingent upon the general state of civilization. We cannot ignore the responsibility of education to contribute to the continuation and improvement of human standards, for there is not a civilization which has ever survived if it became forgetful of, or indifferent to, the present concerns of man.

With this in mind, consider the fact that from the 1850's until the late 1970's, most of the western countries wanted to have a "piece of the action" in the civilization of the world around them through mission and education. This attitude was in response to the historical phenomenon which was going on, namely, the Age of the Enlightenment. During this time people started to think beyond their own little world, their own countries. The discovery of the world began, so to speak. Man took interest in finding other places and other people. The world opened up, and man started to experience different cultural atmospheres, different environments, and different ways of doing things.

In addition, the Industrial Revolution was just around the corner. The art of science was well on its way. Most people left their village life behind and went into the cities to find jobs, working in the factories and the mines, building railway roads. Life styles had changed. Things began to be produced in mass in order to provide for the demand. Now, however, there developed a surplus of goods which no consumers at home could ever deplete. The question arose, "What was to be done with these goods?" Trade with them, of course. But where would or could the market be found? The answer had to come from outside the country, most often even from outside the continent. Historically, when man has had a problem, he has always found ways to solve it. And to the westerners, the problem of surplus goods was solved when the Portuguese reached India and returned with spices. The trade route was found and the flow of goods become easier. Little by little, Europeans found markets all over the coast of Africa and along the eastern part of India. By the end of the fifteenth century,

settlements had been established mainly along the coastal areas and merchant companies had undertaken the responsibility for sending out schoolmasters. But only merchants' sons and a few mulatto offspring, plus the sons of the African chiefs, were able to go to school then.

The schools were based on the teaching of the three R's and, of course, religion. Their primary concern, as Freeman Butts suggests, was not to educate the Africans, "but actually their main purpose of being there was to profit from trade with the Africans, even to the extent of slave trade." He goes on to clarify his point. "Their first priority was economic which motivated them to succeed by taking advantage of the natives. They had little motivation to foster any education. It was not until the combination of religious-humanitarian political complex kind of motive that we see the emerging of the civilizing mission, and education beginning to play an important role." (1:495)

Westerners introduced themselves to the Africans by building forts or castles to insure their property and guarantee security. They regarded themselves as superior to the natives and conducted the trade and administered the countries by following their own laws. The schools had to be built always in the urban centers. The western man argued that "this was the most effective approach because it responded to the demands of urbanizing Africans, who in turn wanted to engage more extensively in the money economy associated with European trade." (1:496) Most Westerners argued that the African needed only to be provided with a practical education, nothing else. Given this kind

of argument, how did they suppose the Africans were going to get the academic kind of education, if they were limited to only the practical branch? Then why should westerners have been surprised to see that the Africans did not respond as enthusiastically to such a practical education as they had anticipated?

Faced with educational problems, the missionaries and humanitarians argued that "all men are basically equal in their spiritual being and natural rights." (1:498) From this point on, then, they worked hard to carry education to the Africans. They set out to prove to others that Black Africans were as educable as all other men. (1:498) In the process, they changed the African's culture, social and economic life, even the environment, which had isolated the African from the civilization which the western man knew. The African had nothing to say in this whole process. He had to obey, to emulate, and to internalize all this. To demonstrate his degree of education, he had to be able to speak the master's language and to adapt his way to the master's culture and religion. This process of transformation was to take place through assimilation, accommodation, and adaptation.

The battlefield for the justification and, therefore, the extension of political, economical, and social control over the inferiors was between the humanitarian and the racist. The former advocated the philosophy of radical natural rights as opposed to the latter's utilitarian creed. (1:498)

Different Philosophies of Education Introduced in Africa

At the turn of the seventeenth century, Imperialism was at its peak. Each nation was thinking in terms of national superiority.

To become a world power, a nation accumulated an array of territories outside its own motherland and demonstrated its control over bodies of water. During this period, Africa was "up for grabs." Those nations which had achieved world power, namely, Great Britain, France, and Germany, acquired larger parts of Africa. Consequently, these nations introduced their culture, their political, social, economic and educational philosophies into those areas where they became colonizers.

Our emphasis will be mainly on the philosophy of education applied by these three groups in their respective colonies.

The French colonizers believed that Africans ought to be assimilated into the French character. Their aim, therefore, was the creation of the elite that would cherish the metropolitan value of being "Black French." (7:191) However, this attitude was neither unusual nor an exception, for from the time of King Louis XIV, all European countries had emulated the French style and culture. So, when the French came to Africa, they brought with them their culture, their belief, and their pride.

The British colonists, on the other hand, operated on the notion of "cultural adaptation." (7:191) This was to say that the Africans were expected to make adjustments to metropolitan institutions in their local political and social organizations. Furthermore, the British point of view foresaw the creation of a group of educated Africans who would be at the same time deeply rooted in their own culture.

The philosophy of education advocated by the Germans was that the "schools are an allocative function." (8:91) This meant that for the

German colonizer the interest was not in making the African into a quasi-German, but rather in having at hand "Africans capable of German definitions of work." (8:91)

After each group of colonizers stated their educational philosophies, they approached the task of making educational policies to support these ideologies. The French put their emphasis on culture assimilation. They started educating people in the French language and made sure that the educated Africans had accommodated themselves to French ways and had adapted to French characteristics in order to be "truly civilized" in their turn.

For the British, the aim was not so much in assimilation; they placed their emphasis on adjustment. Their educational aim was to create a colonial elite and to attempt to promote the adjustment of local populations to their needs. This kind of education seeks the dissemination of modern modes of thought and common patterns of behavior.

For the Germans, educating Africans meant better enterprise and greater economic gains. The German educational system made it possible to communicate in writing with every African headman, for each had learned to read and write. In turn, the Germans counted on receiving the reports from Africans written in Swahili. Consequently, their economic business went well. Furthermore, it was easy to administer these colonies, too, because the master and the native each had a neutral language to speak which joined them.

Educational Implications of Colonial Policies

Within such contexts, formal education was assimilated to a major

degree. It is certainly true that the educational consequences of both the British and the French policies were often the same in spite of their differences in ideology. In the French areas, the development of the schools tended to correlate with the level of political and economic developments of the local areas. For the British, their experience paralleled exactly that of the French, plus the attempt to educate individuals who were eligible for traditional authority roles. In the German educational efforts, "schooling was sometimes sought less for what it could offer, than for what it could be used to avoid." (8:93)

In this respect, the French schools initially functioned as a training school for interpreters and for copy clerks. However, gradually the emphasis shifted to agricultural and practical schooling. William Porrtty denoted this switch when he stated:

We avoid everything that reeks of scholarship, of books, of laboratories. . . Our motto is, Let us be modest. Let us go slowly in order to go far. Let us maintain a healthy suspicion of words, those perfidious friends, and of formulae which contain a dangerous poison. One day, perhaps, the great light that shines from the North will provide illumination that does not blind. For the time being, let us remain in the cave of which Plato speaks so beautifully, and let us look at every bright sun only through its reflection in the muddy waters of African streams. (6:6-7)

As the colonial governments took over the general direction of educational policies, the effort was also made to control the output of the schools. Consequently, they limited their growth. One can not help but observe that the range of educational opportunities open to Africans was far greater in the British and German territories than in those of

the French. The British had become a world power and therefore they were "on top of things." The Germans, too, were rising in prestige. By contrast, the French were declining as a world power. But in all three colonizers' systems, the schools in the metropolitan areas obtained their educational materials from the respective masters. At the same time, it soon proved necessary to train the local natives to handle the primary school education, as it was very difficult to get experts from abroad to work in the colonies. Furthermore, hiring a trained teacher meant providing for a high salary. Therefore, in most parts of Africa, education was left in the hands of missions and of other voluntary agencies. As a consequence, most of the time those who came to teach the Africans were not trained for the purpose. Daniel Thwaite, a white man, spoke from his own experience. Referring to early education in the colonies, he wrote:

It was deemed unnecessary for white men to have any special training before dealing with, and being put in charge of natives. It was common assumption that work in the colonies required men of less education than work at home. So the colonies became a sort of clearing house for failures and worse. This unfortunately applied equally to the missionary as to other callings, and until recently it was the prevalent opinion that the Gospel could be better preached and interpreted to the ignorant and degraded savages by the less intellectual and less educated men. (4:3)

of course, in this case the whole line of reasoning was wrong, for the natives were not as savage and degraded as was supposed. Besides, the more difficult the natives were to deal with, the better equipped then should their teachers have been.

Jomo Kenyatta argues that the Europeans came to Africa with the

notions, assumptions, and convictions that everything the African did or thought was evil. He claims, therefore, that "the missionaries endeavored to rescue the depraved souls of Africans from eternal fire. One cannot help being surprised to see how the missionaries worked with so little education." (3:261) In this regard the German colonists were no exception.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary

One who looks at the history and the philosophy of educational development in colonial Africa cannot help to note the similarities as well as the differences in the colonizers' style. The French put their emphasis on assimilation; the British strove to make the native adjusted to European culture; the Germans thought in terms of allocative function. Schools were understood to be a means to specific forms of employment and only secondarily as serving any assimilative purpose.

It is interesting to note that, although the British and the French educational systems had a different approach, they nonetheless produced similar consequences. It seems correct to generalize that assimilation, adaptation, accommodation, and adjustment took place in those colonial areas. This then seems to indicate that no matter what philosophical ideology these colonizers had, the educational systems were and are after all as much determined by its societal context as they are by educational structure or policies pursued.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the effects of schooling on African culture and society reached little consideration. As long as the Africans assimilated, accommodated, adapted, and adjusted some aspect of existence, the task of civilization was easy. And the new creed and culture had room to expand.

According to John Dewey's philosophy of education, the question would be did these people learn? And where was their knowledge from? I doubt very much that Dewey would have called this kind of education a learning experience. It did not consist of any scientific method. The people were given information. They did not arrive at knowledge by themselves. I would tend to classify this colonial education in terms of B.F. Skinner's philosophy of education. The colonizers went into their colonies, abolished individualism and centralized all power. They manipulated the environment to suit their needs. They gave a minimum of education to the natives so as to change their behavior to where the master wanted it to be through reinforcements, such as a good position in the government or a small raise in salary. Reinforcement came too in the better acceptance of those who knew the master's language or who acted according to the culture and character of the master's standards. The schools, therefore, were the means of shaping the behavior desired by the master to suit his purposes in educating these Africans. The educational experiences of these people held no meaning, so they were unable to arrive at the full knowledge possible for them by interacting with their field. Some interaction did take place but it was so very limited in scope that it is safe to say that there was no democracy in any part of colonial education. There was certainly control, and almost all the time, predictability.

For this reason western colonizers were always surprised to find that Africans were demanding more power through political means, wanted more education than what was being given to them, and staged

revolts when the colonizers ignored their demands. This is the area where I think man is hard to control. He can be controlled for some time but unless he is isolated totally from other parts of the world, he is bound to see that there is something better for him than what he has. Man by nature is going to try to change his condition for the better as it presents itself to him at a given time in his environment. For this reason I agree with Dewey's theory: to teach a man to deal with, to interact with his environment, his field, so that he may reach the utmost possible experiences. These will enable him to arrive at knowledge which is not forced upon him but which is reached through the means of interaction, experience, and evaluation of the problem. No matter how small or great the problem is, this process produces one thing: learning. It provides the most outstanding knowledge anyone can acquire in no other place except by himself.

The education the western colonizers provided failed also in another area; it operated on an existential basis. It provided only for the "now." There were no plans for the future. The past did not matter. Because of this self-serving perspective, there was nothing to plan for, nothing to hold dear. From the remnants of such an educational shambles, the Africans were left to forge their own educational philosophy.

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A PILOT EXPERIENCE IN VOCALICS FOR COUNSELORS

By

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INTRODUCTION

"Speak, that I may see thee!"

-Socrates/Ben Johnson

Vocalics belongs to the more encompassing field of non-verbal communication, which in turn accounts for a very large portion of the communication process, more recently called a communication environment.

Vocalics includes all stimuli produced by the human voice (other than the words themselves) that affect the auditory sense. Everything from sniffs and sneezes to rapid speech, nasality, and singing fall into this category. So do silences and noises during speech. Many scholars refer to this class of behaviors as para-language because it is what supports language (para meaning alongside). (Burgoon & Seine, 1978, p. 81)

The study of voice has been approached through various disciplines since early times. Porta (1545-1615), an early physician is credited with the first systematic attempt to analyze the voice, comparing the voices of humans and animals, and developing voice types to fit Galen's morphological types. The understanding of voice as primary expression has been recognized as important by researchers and professionals in psychology, psychotherapy, linguistics, speech pathology, education, and communications, to name a few.

Vocalics is a powerful and widely used dimension of nonverbal communication, with its functions being basically the same as for non-verbal communication in general. A working definition considers

nonverbal communication to be those attributes or actions of humans other than the use of words themselves, which have socially shared meaning, are intentionally sent or interpreted as intentional, are consciously sent or consciously received, and have the potential for feedback from the receiver. (Burgoon & Seine, 1978, p. 9)

Albert Mehrabian, one of the investigators to study the relationships between various nonverbal channels, helped to unravel the component contributions to the effect of the message as a whole. He devised the following formula (Mehrabian, 1968; Mehrabian & Ferria, 1967; Knapp, 1972, p. 149):

$$\text{PERCEIVED ATTITUDE} = .07(\text{VERBAL}) + .38(\text{VOCAL}) + .55(\text{FACIAL})$$

Similarly, Mehrabian and Weiner found that

The variability of inference about communicator attitude on the basis of information available in content and tone combined is mainly contributed by variations in tone alone. For example, when the attitude communicated in content contradicted the attitude communicated by negative tone, the total message was judged as communicating negative attitude. (1967, p. 109; Knapp, 1972, p. 148)

All people who can hear are more or less intuitively aware of vocal personalities or stereotypes and emotional messages identified and communicated through one's voice. Research has shown that exposure, experience, and training significantly improve one's ability to identify vocal cues, increasing one's sensitivity to and skill in nonverbal messages.

Paul Moses describes the problems of voice analysis to understand personality, as a "step-child" of psychology, with attention to the vocal only in cases of pathology, where these vocal symptoms "were too obvious to be passed over" (Moses, 1954, p. 88). His first attempt to analyze voice from a phonograph recording in 1940 revealed a surprising correlation between vocal analysis and results from a Rorschach test. He later went on to work with Gregory Bateson as part of a research project analyzing neurotic and psychotic voices in the investigation of communication paradoxes. With his increased understanding from these studies, Moses attempted to fill a gap between the fields of laryngology, psychiatry, and psychotherapy. The laryngolo-

gist is primarily concerned with the medical study, treatment, or specialty of the larynx, which contains the vocal cords, and its diseases.

The understanding of voice as primary expression is of importance not only to those working with vocal pathology, but to those dealing with the individual from a psychiatric point of view. . . . The training of the psychiatrist does not contain the analysis of the voice, and the training of the laryngologist does not include sufficient psychiatric understanding of the emotional problems which affect the voice. (Moses, 1954, pp. 5-6)

The therapist's vocalics has been recognized by researchers as significant in communication between therapist and client. Peak and poor therapy sessions have been differentiated on the basis of paralinguistic/vocalic cues alone (Duncan, Rice & Butler, 1968). Since the therapist uses him/herself as an instrument, s/he can be an accurate instrument only insofar as s/he can "read" him/herself, his/her own predispositions to label certain "feeling tones", his/her understanding of patients' covert messages and recognition of emotional climates created as response to these messages. "To paraphrase Reik (1948) he [the therapist] has three ears: one to understand the manifest meaning, one to store information, and one to sense the covert meaning" (Beier, 1966, p. 35).

Paul Watzlawick humorously described a psychoanalytic patient's perceptions of the "invisible" analyst through increased sensitivity to acoustical cues coming from behind the patient. These minimal cues become highly significant messages directing the patient's free-associations and revealing the therapist's behavior through pen scratching, chair squeaking, beard stroking, and the rhythmic breathing of slumber (1976, p. 42).

Some studies have shown a correlation between transmission of vocal expressions and that person's accuracy in perceiving vocal cues

and messages. The PCNS test was developed as a measure of an individual's sensitivity to nonverbal cues (Rosenthal, Hall, DiMatteo, Rogers, & Archer, 1979).

George Trager suggested learning vocalics by experience, through practice identifying sounds, then practice in replicating them (1972). C. G. Jung asserted: "Learn all you can about symbolism, and then forget it when analyzing a dream" (1964, p. 56). There are striking parallels between the interpretation of vocalics and symbolism: Meanings are different depending on context, meanings change with individuals, there are idiosyncratic meanings, interpretations are different culturally, one cannot interpret in mechanical ways, interpretations must be in terms of a total picture, one must use intelligence rather than rules to interpret, and one must consider his/her own biases. Samuel Stein reminds us "We must also be aware that words have no absolute meanings, but are akin to empty vessels into which we pour meanings" (Stein, 1974, p. 88).

A voice training text developed by Paul Heinberg is intended to help individuals change their perceived personalities through improved use of voice. He believes that through being perceived differently by others, an individual might then change behavioral and self-characterized personality.

A person who undergoes speech training changes the ways others perceive him, and thus changes their reactions to him. To the extent that their different reactions to him produce a reevaluation of himself or changes in his behavior, speech training can reasonably be said to have an effect on the self-characterized or behavioral personality. (Heinberg, 1964, p. 5)

A skills approach was used for this training: learning various voice qualities, developing various amounts of pitch variety, producing various intonations, using various speaking rates, and finally

pronunciation and diction were superimposed on previously learned skills.

George Trager and others in the field of linguistics realized a need to identify, codify, and analyze all parts of a total utterance, including those phenomena which could not be analyzed in the same way as the language of words. Trager described these phenomena as paralinguage, using the terms "voice set," a background against which are measured: "voice qualities" and "vocalizations." He joined a group of psychiatrists and anthropologists conducting research on material from taped and filmed psychotherapeutic interviews in 1956.

Many terms have been used to refer to vocal, nonverbal phenomena. "Paralanguage" is credited to A. A. Hill and was introduced to the field of linguistics by George Trager (Crystal, 1974; Key, 1975; Trager, 1958). "Paralinguistics" is frequently used interchangeably with "paralanguage" (Key, 1975). "Vocal gestures (Hinde, 1972), "voice quality, vocalizations, vocal segregates, vocal qualifiers, vocal modifiers" (Markel, 1969), "vocal phenomena" (Pittenger & Smith, 1969), "voice set" (Trager, 1958, 1972), "vocalic" (Bonfanti, 1976; Chester & Egolf, 1974; Burgoon & Seine, 1978), and "vocaltalk" (Nierenberg & Calero, 1973) are just a sample of the many terms used to refer to the vocal dimension of nonverbal behavior/communication.

The classification structure developed by George Trager in 1958 for the study of the voice has remained the most widely accepted system for classifying vocal cues (Burgoon & Seine, p. 81). He identified three elements of the voice with subcategories as follows:

1. Voice set: the background against which other vocal cues are judged, including the speaker's physical and physiological characteristics, identifying the psychological and sociological

state of that individual. These are the nonvoice features which influence judgment of voice.

2. Vocal features

a. Voice qualities: these elements of the voice generally accompany speech.

- 1) Pitch range
- 2) Vocal lip control
- 3) Glottis control
- 4) Pitch control
- 5) Articulation control
- 6) Rhythm control
- 7) Resonance
- 8) Tempo

b. Vocalizations: specific sounds or aspects of sounds

- 1) Vocal characterizers
- 2) Vocal qualifiers
- 3) Vocal segregates (Burgoon & Seine, pp. 81-82; Trager, 1958)

Another system outside of the linguistics field dealt with the acoustic dimensions of voice: "The Five R's," developed by Paul Moses. The following attributes of voice were described:

Acoustic Dimensions (The "Five R's")

Respiration
Range
Registers
Resonance
Rhythm

Other Dimensions

Melody
Intensity
Speed
Accents
Emphasis

Other Significant Features

Pathos
Mannerism
Melism
Exactness

Pauses between words (Moses, 1954, p. 31)

Many theorists support the view that counseling is a process of communication (Beier, 1966; Brammer, 1973; Carkhuff & Berenson, 1977; Egan, 1975; Ivey, 1971, 1979; Reik, 1948; Rogers, 1971, 1976; Sullivan, 1954; & others), of which nonverbal messages are an essential and continuous accompaniment. "Clinical interviewers have

long assumed that the relationship is the communication bridge between people" (Weiner, 1976, p. 13). Out of client-centered therapy came the concept of "experiencing" of two persons in therapy interaction rather than focusing on a discussion of verbal content. This has also been referred to as "subverbal interaction" in studies with schizophrenics (Rogers & Stevens, 1971, p. 117).

Subverbal interaction is not a giving up of verbal therapy, but rather a reaching for the deeper and wider feeling process which occurs in every individual at every moment, and within which psychotherapy occurs. (p. 127)

Models of communication are many and varied. Researchers select one or more models which best represent or serve their particular study while some authors present and discuss a number of different models. A model proposed by Tony Schwartz (1974) approaches communication from an auditory medium and represents the shift in our communication environment from a linear to an acoustic base. His "Resonance Theory of Communication" builds "on Ray Birdwhistell's finding that a state of communication is nearly always present in our environment" (p. 23). Birdwhistell states: "An individual does not communicate; he engages in or becomes part of communication. . . . He does not originate communication; he participates in it. Communication as a system . . . is to be comprehended on the transactional level" (Watzlawick, Beavin & Jackson, 1967, p. 70). "It is impossible to not communicate" (p. 51).

Schwartz in advertising and Shakespeare in theater express a similar concept:

I understand a fury in your words
But not the words.

-Shakespeare, Othello, Act IV

We seek to strike a responsive chord in people, not get a message across. Thus an announcer who is required by law to state how many calories are in a dessert topping may say the commercial copy with the tone of voice of a sympathetic father giving his daughter permission to eat some candy, thus conveying the meaning associated with the tone of voice rather than the words themselves. (Schwartz, 1974, pp. 27-29)

Schwartz discovered the work of Marshall McLuhan in the early sixties:

McLuhan's argument that people can approach a medium from totally different sensory bases allowed me to . . . realize . . . that I approached sound from an auditory base, while the rest of the advertising industry was structuring sound communication from a written, print base. (p. xiv)

Through television, films, radio, tapes, and records, our world is experienced more in an auditory form. Even electronically mediated visual media is patterned like auditory information. "In watching television, our eyes function like our ears" (p. 14). The eye receives fractured bits of a visual image which the brain must reassemble, so that "with television, the patterning of auditory and visual stimuli is identical." It is "for this reason, it is more accurate to say that television is an auditory--based medium" (p. 16).

This "resonance theory of communication" or "resonance principle" for creating communication could be described as a listener who brings to a communication situation, more information (material in his brain) than a communicator can put into his message. Thus, the communicator must deeply understand what experiences and kinds of information are stored in the listener, "the patterning of this information, and the interactive resonance process whereby stimuli evoke this stored information" (p. 25).

With the presentation of the "resonance theory of communication," the flow of information appears to be a very complex process. The study of nonverbal communication has attempted to understand some

of the factors contributing to the complexity of communication. Actors and writers have demonstrated their awareness of "resonance" and of nonverbal behavior through their abilities to elicit the desired audience responses, singly and collectively. The absence of systematic and consistent terminology, definitions, and models may have fostered what appears to be a "tower of Babel" effect when speaking of "nonverbal communication," with even the use and definition of this term being questioned by some researchers and professionals.

From the vast amount of evidence supporting counseling as communication, it is clear, albeit sometimes implicit, that nonverbal communication and thus vocalics "take place upon both the part of the counselor and the client and are an integrated force within the relationship" (Hughey, 1973, p. 124). The need for counselor training in nonverbal behavior has been researched and stated clearly by Hughey and Piepgrass:

In order for a counselor to be maximally effective, he should be trained in the understanding of nonverbal cues. And in order for that training to be possible, the entire area of nonverbal behavior in a counseling context must be examined in greater systematic detail. (1976, p. 13)

Trager has said "No one ever talks without paralanguage" (1972, p. 10) and yet this term and its many synonyms elicit a response of "What?" and "What's that?" from the majority of teachers and many counselors who are supposed to be specialists in the communication process, practicing "the talking cure."

It has been shown that in general, people interpret the intentions, behaviors, and meanings of others on the assumption that behavior means about the same around the world, whether American or Japanese, hearing or nonhearing, sighted or nonsighted, black or

white, yellow or red, German or African, reading the behavior of others with overtones of their own culture. This can lead to serious misunderstandings. "These failures of communication all too often lead to the widening of a social gap which threatens the foundations of our existence as a nation" (Abrahams, 1970, pp. 19-20; Dubner, 1972, p. 361).

As consultants to all manner of organizations, institutions, educational programs, industry, and individuals, counselors and counselor educators need to be trained in all aspects of nonverbal communication and become more sensitive to vocalics as it relates to total body communication.

A review of the literature on existing programs to train counselors in nonverbal communication revealed no training program which featured a separate unit on paralanguage/vocalics or any specialized training in this dimension for counselors. While training programs in nonverbal communication are appearing more frequently, people generally depend more on visual perception which is reflected in the emphases on kinesics, proxemics, and facial expression. Vocalics is often overlooked as trainees interact eyeball to eyeball! When combined with facial expression for instance, the vocal is less noticed. In order to study the vocal component, it follows that it must be separated from other nonverbal behaviors to increase awareness before it is integrated into the process of total communication. This provides the rationale for a separate training experience designed to increase awareness of vocalics in the counseling context. Since there was no model for this training found in current counselor education literature, this study seeks to develop, implement, and evaluate a pilot experience for counselors in the vocal dimension of nonverbal

communication. While there is a need to focus on vocalics separately to enhance awareness, it is important to realize that vocalics is not an independent entity separate from other nonverbal cues. The rationale for a functional approach to nonverbal communication, as presented by Burgoon and Seine is captured in a quote from Colin Cherry:

The human organism is one integrated whole, stimulated into responses by physical signals: It is not to be thought of as a box, carrying independent pairs of terminals labeled "ears," "eyes," "nose," et cetera. (Burgoon & Seine, p. 54)

In accordance with the functional approach, it is recognized that one cue can perform different functions and also that the same function may be demonstrated by different cues (p. 54). In their text of nonverbal communication, Burgoon and Seine discuss vocalics in terms of functional categories, outlined their "contents" for part II:

1. First impressions
 - Physical features
 - Sociocultural features
 - Psychological features
2. Relational messages
 - Attraction and liking
 - Credibility, status, and power
3. Communication of affect
4. Regulation of interaction
 - Initiating
 - Structuring
 - Terminating
5. Presentation of self
6. Manipulating others
 - Comprehension and retention
 - Attitude change
 - Changes in communication and overt behavior (from table of contents, pp. viii-ix)

The objectives of this study are to gather data in vocalics, counselor education, and counseling practice with experience and aware-

ness of vocalics from interviews with experts; to use this data with data from the literature to develop and implement a pilot experience for counselors in vocalics; and to evaluate this training experience, summarizing results and making recommendations for future training in vocalics for counselors.

METHOD

The method chosen to complete this study combines elements of survey research and program analysis and development. The sequential method to be used includes five phases in the development, implementation, and evaluation of a pilot experience in vocalics for counselors.

Utilizing data gathered from interviews with experts and from the literature in vocalics and counselor education, it is the purpose of this study to create and evaluate a pilot experience in vocalics for counselors and from this, to make recommendations for future counselor training in vocalics.

Phases of the Study

Phase I includes an interview with each of three experts and the implications from the literature review, to gather data from the fields of vocalics, counselor education, and from an application of vocalics in the counseling context.

Phase II will result in the design of the pilot training experience and the evaluation procedure for the experience. Questions to be answered include: Who will participate in the experience? What space and time requirements will be necessary for the implementation of this experience? What are the objectives of this training experience and what strategies will be used to accomplish the stated objectives? What evaluation instruments and

and procedures will be used in order to gather data to make recommendations for future training.

In phase III, the initial design for the pilot experience will be submitted to the experts who were interviewed in phase I, for their review and approval.

After revisions are made, the revised pilot design will be implemented and evaluation data collected in phase IV.

The final phase will include analysis and summarization of the evaluation data, discussion, and recommendations for future training in vocalics for counselors. The following flow chart outline will clarify the phases of this study.

Flow Chart Outline

Phase I

- A. Interview experts
 - 1. One in vocalics
 - 2. One in counselor education
 - 3. One experienced, practicing counselor with awareness of vocalics
- B. Summarize implications from literature
 - 1. Vocalics training
 - 2. Counselor education
 - 3. Vocalics applications in counseling context

Phase II

Design pilot training experience and evaluation methodology using data gathered from phase I, plus researcher's own creativity and experience. This will include

- A. Participants
- B. Time and space requirements

C. Objectives

D. Strategies

E. Evaluation procedures and instruments

Phase III

Submit pilot training design to the experts interviewed in phase I for review and approval

Phase IV

Revise and implement pilot training experience, collecting evaluation data

Phase V

Analyze and summarize evaluation data and make recommendations for future training in vocalics for counselors

Research Instruments

The personal interview will be used as the principal method of gathering information from experts in vocalics, counselor education, and counseling with an awareness and understanding of vocalics in practical application. Kerlinger notes the personal interview " . . . as perhaps the most powerful and useful tool of social scientific research"(1973, p. 412). The interview schedule will include areas to be covered and guidelines, with a relatively unstructured questioning schedule, based on the assumption that experts have a sense of the topic and areas to be discussed in the personal interview. The researcher will ask questions as necessary to stimulate the expert to give more information to complete the objectives of the interview, i.e., to cover outlined areas. Interviews will be audiotape-recorded, transcribed, and included in the appendices.

Interview Guidelines

I Interview #1 with expert in vocalics

- A. Personal experience, background, and training in vocalics
- B. Importance of vocalics
- C. Vocalics awareness most important for counselors to know and/or experience
- D. Techniques, methods, and strategies for learning, teaching, and experiencing vocalics
- E. Recommended readings and references
- F. Additional comments

II Interview #2 with expert in counselor education

- A. Personal understanding and/or experience of vocalics
- B. Current program in counselor education in relation to vocalics and/or nonverbal communication
- C. Importance of vocalics in counselor education programs in terms of time, space, and value
 - 1. Point of time in training when vocalics experience should occur
 - 2. In conjunction with or in relation to what other program elements, or separate from these
 - 3. Priorities in area of increasing counselor awareness of vocalics
- D. Recommendations of techniques, strategies, materials, and methods most successful in training counselors, particularly with vocalics in mind
 - 1. Students
 - 2. Faculty
 - 3. Counselor practitioners
- E. Additional comments

III Interview #3 with expert who is experienced, practicing counselor with awareness and understanding of vocalics

- A. Personal understanding, experience, and training in vocalics
- B. Importance, how most helpful, how increase effectiveness as counselor, practical value, and use

- C. Priorities, what most important in vocalics for counselors to know and/or experience
- D. Techniques, methods, materials, strategies
- E. Best time in counselor training for training experience in vocalics
- F. Other recommendations for training, program, and priorities
- G. Readings and references
- H. Additional comments

Evaluation Instruments

These are subject to revision after interviews with experts, but will initially include a participant's rating scale, a participant's reaction sheet, and informal discussion of the training experience recorded on audiotape and transcribed.

Results and Discussion

The results of this study will consist of analysis and summary of evaluation data gathered from participants with recommendations drawn from this analysis and from literature and the interviews with experts, for future training in vocalics for counselors.

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CULTURAL AND CROSS-CULTURAL ISSUES IN THE
DEVELOPMENT OF DEAF CHILDREN OF
HEARING PARENTS

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Cultural and Cross-cultural Issues in the
Development of Deaf Children of
Hearing Parents

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A couple of years ago a friend of mine who has a severe hearing loss and whose parents and sister are all deaf interrupted a conversation she was having with me in sign language to answer her phone. She switched her hearing aid to the telephone channel to be able to hear the person on the other end more clearly. She talked for a while with the other person with little difficulty and when finished turned to me to pick up our conversation. Purposely attempting to goad her I remarked, "You speak on the phone as well as a hearing person." She frowned and retorted, "But I'm still deaf, and don't forget it."

What did this woman mean that she was "deaf". We often deal with deafness in terms of degree of hearing loss, age of onset of the hearing loss, or in ability to receive the spoken word successfully. Here was someone who was born hearing normally, had incurred a severe progressive hearing loss and could carry on a conversation, on the phone yet, with any hearing person, and yet she said to me that she was deaf. I would suggest that indeed she is deaf, for want of a better term, "culturally deaf."

In the field of education and rehabilitation of deaf people, the emphases are usually in the areas of language (specifically, English) development and competence, communication skills in terms of speech, speech-reading, and use of residual hearing, and social and behavioral aspects of the development of deaf individuals. There are typical patterns that can be seen in these areas among those people professionals label deaf. These typical patterns are generally stated in terms of how they differ from the norm of hearing individuals, or the predominant culture around them. Habilitation efforts tend to stress skills that help deaf people to fit better into the mainstreaming of hearing culture.

I have discussed the idea of a deaf sub-culture with many professionals and find an interesting resistance on the part of some to admit that such a sub-culture exists. If one examines the deaf population in the United States--there are about 250,000 individuals who are born deaf or lose their hearing before they have developed English skills and another 250,000 who lose their hearing before they are through with school and absorbed into the work force (Schein & Delk, 1974)--one can find ties that bind them together beyond that of similarities in the areas already mentioned. Are these cultural aspects important in our efforts to provide educational and other services for these people? Of course, we must understand the world for which we are preparing our students or clients. Although we may believe that certain skills are crucial to a deaf person being able to function

in a predominantly hearing world, we must not forget that most people whose hearing ability is inadequate for most of their daily functioning are going to circulate primarily in a deaf world outside of work.

Most deaf people receive educational services in special schools or special classes within the public schools. They typically complete a high school program with lower academic achievement than hearing high school graduates (Moeres, 1978), are employed in a skilled or semiskilled job (Lerman, 1976), marry another deaf person, and have children with normal hearing (Mindel and Vernon, 1971). Deaf people have organizations which serve social as well as service functions and many others are purely social in nature and provide an opportunity for deaf people who work in various settings to come together in the evenings and on week-ends (Vernon and Mindel, 1971). In more rural areas, many deaf people drive long distances to population centers for social activities and church services interpreted for deaf people or provided by those trained to minister to deaf people.

Deaf people are naturally as different from each other as any other people and these characteristics I have mentioned do not give one any feeling for the life of any one deaf person or deaf people as a group. There are many shared experiences among most deaf people, however, and these experiences provide a common base for their daily lives. They acquire, in the context of these shared experiences, "(psychological and) sociological cognitive properties that generate and provide the basis for interpreting rules as guides to social conduct (Cicourel and Boese, 1972).

Therefore when one examines the daily lives of most deaf people, one can see that despite the goal of preparing deaf students for a hearing world, most deaf people circulate in a deaf sub-culture. "The world of the deaf, ...is like a subset of the larger society, a separate society within the hearing one. Obviously, the two types of social organizations articulate at various points, but for social purposes the world of the deaf is completely set apart from that of the hearing world." (Cicourel and Boese, 1972, p. 404). Other characteristics in terms of shared standards and attitudes, some type of world view, are not well-documented. Indeed there is a wide spectrum of life styles among deaf people, and the commonality of hearing loss does not insure rapport among members of the sub-culture any more than such a commonality as, say, being from Pennsylvania. What is the strongest tie for this group of people then? Without a doubt it is a common language, a language which they and a small number of friends, relatives, and professionals-- a small minority within the major culture--share with each other.

This language is, of course, sign language. The great majority of deaf people in this country use American Sign Language (Klima & Bellugi, 1979) or some combination of American Sign Language and signed English, sometimes call Ameslish (Bragg, 1973.) Their reliance on this form of communication, is perhaps the major characteristic of the deaf sub-culture (Cicourel and Boese, 1972) and its uniqueness (see Klima & Bellugi, 1979) and the inability of most

deaf people to develop skills in communicating in an oral/aural mode will likely continue, depending on one's point of view, to unite deaf people or to isolate them from the hearing world.

The unique situation that exists in this sub-culture that separates it from other sub-cultural groups that share a non-majority language, is that 90% of the deaf children that will eventually be active members of this sub-culture do not have parents that are part of the sub-culture. That is, over 90% of deaf children have hearing parents (Mindel and Vernon, 1971). These hearing parents not only are faced with coping with the fact that they have a child who is not "normal", who has a physical disability, but whether they ever confront the situation in these terms, they see their child growing into a different culture than their own.

The typical pattern of the discovery of hearing loss in a child by his or her parents has been described in various places (see, e.g., Luterman, 1979; Mindel and Vernon, 1971). Parents initially become concerned that there is something wrong with their child. Sometimes they receive poor diagnostic services or simple assurance from a family doctor or pediatrician that there is nothing wrong or that the child will "grow out of it". Later upon having the deafness definitely identified, they may either be besieged by too much information before they are ready for it or by conflicting opinions as to intervention strategies (Luterman, 1979). Given the difficulty in the early coping process, I would not recommend that parents be also presented with the idea that their child is to be "culturally different".

As the child grows, however, the parents are obviously aware of the differences in the patterns in the child's life and their own lives. Demands are made by professionals for activities by the parents that are far more structured than the kinds of activities in which the parents participated with their own parents. The school program in which the child is placed is obviously different from the schools of their childhood memories. In many cases their children must go away to residential schools that take them out of the home except for the weekends and vacations. The friends of their children are also deaf, for the most part, and the communication that their child has with friends is obviously superior to that with the parents themselves.

If the child is in an oral program, the parent often will have great difficulty with fluent communication, and this lack of quality in the communication process (Greensburg, 1980) will be even more noticeable if the deaf child has hearing siblings. If the child depends primarily upon sign language, the parents may not even "speak" the same language as the child, as many parents of signing deaf children never learn to sign well if at all.

This communication gap is certainly one that goes well beyond the more common difficulties in parent-child communication. It is at the same time the cause of much of the continued lack of understanding by the parent of the world into which the deaf child is moving, and a symptom of the parent's inability to accept this other culture of which sign language is the most overt characteristic. Greensburg (1980)

states of the oral mothers in his study of mother-child interaction that "by focusing on... speech they were denying the concomitant social differences that deafness would probably bring in the future, e.g., living in both the hearing and deaf worlds as adults (p. 1070)." The strength of this denial is seen in the words of one mother whose extremely constructive account of coping with her child's deafness contains the interjection, "I never doubted for a minute that he would speak, for the alternative was one that I could not tolerate" (Allen & Allen, 1979, p. 281).

Again it must be emphasized that the signing on which the parents may focus - is simply the most obvious difference in the way their deaf child functions in the "deaf world." As the developing deaf child rotates toward those with whom he or she can communicate most easily, that is, deaf peers, and professionals with whom there is contact, the parents and children move further away from each other. The stress and lack of positive social interaction between parent and child (Greenburg, 1980) becomes a chasm as the maturing deaf adolescent becomes quite aware that he or she is deaf and the parent is hearing and nothing will rectify that situation.

Does this mean that such a chasm must exist? Many deaf children and their hearing parents may have extremely positive relationships and may bridge the gap between the deaf and hearing worlds. However, there is very little research to ascertain if this is true and if so, what the important variables are.

We do know that deaf children of deaf parents have been observed to be superior to deaf children of hearing parents in both academic and social measures (Moores, 1978). Schlesinger and Meadow (1972) indicate that, although some people would like to attribute this to the deaf parents' acceptance of the deafness of the child, early influence of sign language may also be crucial. As I have tried to emphasize here, the learning and use of sign language with a deaf child by a hearing parent is probably closely related to such acceptance, although some parents avoid sign language at the counsel of professionals (who themselves perhaps do not accept the deafness).

Several further areas of research are needed. We need to know the characteristics of families in which deaf children have been identified to function more nearly optimally. Are there aspects such as socio-economic status or ethnic background that are related? As deaf children grow into adults, what are the differing social patterns among those deaf people who have continued to follow oralism as compared to deaf people who sign, especially to those who sign but were educated in oral schools along with these adult oralists? Is there anything that we can learn from examining the relationships between deaf parents and their hearing children, especially as related to parenting patterns, that would be applicable to deaf children with hearing parents? What are the communication patterns among deaf adults who rely upon sign language as compared with hearing people? If cultural aspects of deafness are important in general, and socio-linguistic patterns specifically, can we describe these in a manner

that will be helpful for us as professionals working with deaf people and their hearing parents?

Until we have some answers to these questions, I would suggest that we emphasize several intervention strategies that will lessen the effects of the cultural barrier between deaf children and their hearing parents. It is logical to take a two-prong attack on the problem. Without denying the deafness of the child, we should attempt to help the child function better in a hearing world and understand his or her hearing parents more easily. At the same time, we should attempt to assist the parents in understanding the deaf world better and to communicate more effectively with their deaf children.

To help the deaf child to learn to function in the hearing world better, early identification of the deafness is the first crucial step. Methods of assessment of hearing have improved greatly in the last few years, and the use of such tests as Auditory Brainstem Responses (ABR) (Galambos, 1978) should do much to let parents know that their child has a serious hearing loss. Other strategies that should improve early identification include better training of pediatricians to be aware of the symptoms of hearing loss and to know of available referral sources for accurate testing. More thorough screening of newborns, especially high risk babies and those in intensive care in early life, should increase the number of early discoveries. Educating the public in general to the signs of hearing loss might also be helpful.

Another intervention strategy is the early use of amplification. Very few deaf children do not have some useful residual hearing, and more research is needed to know the effects of early amplification for these children. More documentation is needed to support the impression that I and many professionals to which I have talked about early amplification have, that deaf children who have a hearing aid from the age of five or six months have a distinct advantage in the development of language and speech skills as compared to those that began using amplification in the second or third year of life or even later.

The use of sign language with deaf infants may also be an effective strategy. The continuing disagreement in the field about early exposure to sign language and its effects of the developing child needs better documentation. Does the use of signs interfere with the development of oral skills as oralists claim, or does the early exposure to sign language provide an easier method for the deaf child to develop a language base on which oral skills can later develop, as proponents of sign language would suggest?

Harris (1979) states:

Arguments to restrict the input and language usage in the deaf seem frankly bankrupt. The passion that keeps them alive is political and not scientific. Early, enriching, maximal intervention appears imperative and it is inconceivable that sign language will have no role in this process. (p. 230)

In terms of more general involvement of the parents in the education and development of their child, more research and development of methods is needed to initiate assessment procedures that can accurately identify the needs of the parents in reference to coping with their child's deafness. What kinds of programs will help to maximize the parents' involvement with their deaf child? Although Luterman (1979) gives some excellent guidelines to counseling parents of deaf children, additional documentation is needed to develop the most effective techniques in this area. Professionals also need to be educated so that these principles are not violated in the early stages of identification of the hearing loss.

Further examination of training methods in communication skills for parents needs to be done. If signs are to be used, what is the most effective means of teaching parents? If oral/aural methods are to be used, how can the success be maximized? What can parents do to overcome the breakdown in communication that might cause documented problems in deaf children such as lack of impulse control and lack of understanding of social norms (Harris, 1978)? What is the best way to educate the parents about the deaf sub-culture, and can such information assist them in raising their deaf child? What role might deaf adults play in providing role models and assisting parents in learning about deafness?

As can be seen, there are many questions to be answered that go beyond the types of educational problems that are the most common

focus of professionals in the area of deafness. Successful intervention with deaf children depends on the answers to these questions. Parent involvement must be an integral part of any intervention program. Perhaps the question that must be answered first is whose role it should be to see that such parent programs are initiated? Without an effective service delivery model including the role descriptions of the various professionals that will be interacting with the parents, such an effort will never get off the ground. Perhaps the first step is to push for legislative action which mandates a parent program and in turn an Individualized Home Program just as Public Law 94-142 now demands an Individualized Educational Program.

Certainly we must become more aware of the subtle problems, as well as the rather obvious problems, of deaf children, who because of a different language and different life experience are developing in and becoming part of a culture different from their parents. Our efforts to bridge this cultural gap may optimize the ability of deaf individuals to function in both deaf and hearing worlds.

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QUEST AND INVEST
A
YOUNG ADULT PREPARATORY PROJECT

By

Ethel M. Parris
Quest and Invest
Young Adult Preparatory Project

FOREWORD

The youth unemployment problem varies by sex, age and ethnic group, but it is most severe for black youth. Teenage joblessness has long range negative consequences and cannot be dismissed as merely a typical experience of immature youth. Youth joblessness is related to juvenile delinquency and other unsocial behaviors.

Unemployment among young people, particularly minorities and the disadvantaged, has been a persistent and growing problem in the country for the past decades. Further, the current economic "stagflation" (ie, the co-existence of a high rate of unemployment with both inflation and stagnant economic growth rates) provides strong evidence that traditional policies aimed at stimulating the demand for labor have not been totally successful. Current policies and programs are needed to continue directing training to enhance the quality of the supply of labor.

Appreciation is expressed to the Governor's Special Grant in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania for funding Quest and Invest. Also, special thanks to Quest and Invest Staff members involved in the development of this report, Ms. LaWade Garris, Counselor and Ms. Diane Pryor, Instructor.

Ms. Ethel M. Parris, Director
Quest and Invest
Young Adult Preparatory Project

INTRODUCTION

In the Pittsburgh Metropolitan area, there are thousands of youth 16-21 years of age, who are unprepared for the work world and face limited job opportunities. Due to various social, cultural and economic inadequacies, Quest and Invest, a young adult preparatory project was designed.

The objectives of this program are to educate and prepare disadvantaged minority youth for the responsibilities and to the rewards of legitimate work. Since the inception, Quest and Invest, a career awareness program has provided supportive services, employability skills training, counseling, career information, classroom training and job placement services to Pittsburgh youth.

HISTORY OF ORGANIZATION

Operation Dig, Incorporated is a non-profit, community-based organization designed to improve the quality of life for minorities, women, youth, the unskilled, ex-offenders and other groups who traditically have been at risk and in need in our society. During it's 14 years of existence, Operation Dig has established an impressive track record. Founded by Nate Smith in 1967, Dig is located at 130 Larimer Avenue in the East End section of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Quest and Invest was started March, 1980 and is located in East Liberty at Operation Dig's Headquarters.

One of Operation Dig's major accomplishments was, and is, the spearheading of the minority population's efforts to enter the Skilled Building Trades. In the turbulent "60's," Dig in cooperation with unions and contractors, developed and implemented a workable, voluntary affirmative action plan for the construction industry. Since that time this unique program now called the Pittsburgh Plan has been acclaimed nationally and used as a model for others wishing to integrate the blue collar sector. It is one of the few "hometown" plans to survive the nation's changing focus and to continually meet the obligations of the community, construction industry and the Office of Federal Contract Compliance (OFCC).

Dig remains the cornerstone of the Pittsburgh Plan, giving the program force, direction and most of its placements. In this capacity, Dig:

- o Disseminates information and recruits potentially qualifiable men and women for the Building Trades;
- o prepares recruits for the screening process utilized by the various unions (i.e., making application, taking the employment test, preparing for the job interview);

- o increases recruits' knowledge of the world of work, including the construction industry;
- o teaches and refines those skills needed for finding, getting and keeping a job;
- o refers and places individuals in union apprenticeships and journey-persons positions;
- o monitors the progress of all placements;
- o assist OFFOC auditors in carrying out their regularly scheduled audits of union placements.

Operation Dig has taken on many additional responsibilities over and above those directly associated with placement of minorities and women in the Building Trades. The following briefly describes a few of the roles Dig now fulfills.

1. Vocational Assessment - Operation Dig has put together a guidance counseling program which gives our clients an in-depth evaluation of their aptitudes, weaknesses, likes and dislikes. From the information gathered from these assessments, clients and counselors work together to formulate career plans and to follow through on these plans.
2. Technical Assistance - Operation Dig provides technical assistance to many organizations in the field of human resource development. A few of these organizations are: Operation PUSH, Recruitment and Training Program (R.T.P.), the Wheeler Business School, Western Pennsylvania Hospital, the Apprenticeship Information Program, the Bureau of State Employment as well as numerous high schools, colleges and universities, hometown plans and labor groups across the nation.

3. Forum on Social-Economic Issues - Operation Dig has been a strong voice for socio-economic parity for those who traditionally have been discriminated against. Dig's staff participates in all aspects of community action as leaders and workers.
4. Referral Source - Operation Dig has supported other agencies through its active referral system.
5. Job Development - Operation Dig has not confined its job development activities to the Building Trades. Dig generates job orders, prepares and refers applicants, and monitors placements' progress. Past placements include those made in the following industries: banking, medical, steel, education and retail.
6. Chief Negotiator and Trouble Shooter - Operation Dig functions as the chief negotiator for the Pittsburgh Plan in the annual determination of numerical goals for affirmative action by each union.
7. Educational Institute - Operation Dig has worked with the schools to enhance career awareness and preparation for youth. Dig maintains vocational education classrooms and a comprehensive curriculum.
8. Program for Ex-Offenders - Operation Dig has established close working ties with penal institutions. It has helped many ex-offenders become productive, first-class citizens.

In Summary, Dig has been, and is, a vital part of the endeavor to stimulate human development and to remove discriminatory barriers. Dig has positively influenced thousands of lives and made a substantial impact on the society as a whole.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

The high youth unemployment and drop-out rate has persisted in the United States for several decades. In the Pittsburgh and Metropolitan area there are thousands of youth who are unprepared and often misinformed about career and educational opportunities that are available. Poorly developed skills, inflated job demands, little contact with the business world, combined with inappropriate attitudes and work habits are only a few of the obstacles which confront our youth as they attempt to move into the labor market or while seeking higher educational and vocational training.

Many merely lack the self-confidence and social skill necessary to impress an employer and are easily discouraged, lack motivation, and burdened with peer pressure.

The high percent of youth unemployment combined with the high school drop-out rate can be attributed to demographic causes, sociological factors and economic causes. When assessing the significance of youth employment, unemployment and the high school drop-out rate, statistical account must be given to the environment which youth move from school to work or higher education or vocational training.

The period bridging school and work has been examined with respect to factors such as educational level, intelligence and family background. Bowen and Finnegan (1969) found a reduction in labor force participation while family income grew from under \$2,000 to \$6,000 per year, and an increase thereafter until upper income levels were realized. The rationale for this finding is that family and friends of teens in the higher income range were better equipped to assist them in securing a job.

Youth unemployment is often dismissed on the grounds that it does not have serious social welfare implications. Every youth will eventually become an adult and the problem of being unprepared for the world of work must be

corrected. Over the past 30 years, unemployment rates for minority youth have risen steadily. The National Longitudinal Survey (N.L.S.) found the unemployment rate for Blacks to be 39%. Teenage joblessness has long range negative consequences and cannot be dismissed as merely the typical experience of immature youth.

The analysis of cultural, social and economic background is vital in an attempt to determine why employment patterns and the high school dropout rate differ for inner-city youth and why these young people may be less concerned with a commitment to work or graduate from high school as the central focus of existence. A basis for comparing these differences can be established by examining the general cultural background from which values and attitudes toward work and education are developed.

Youth joblessness is related to juvenile delinquency and other unsocial behaviors. On virtually every measure of labor market performance, the youth who left school without obtaining a high school diploma had a poorer record than youth who completed high school. The unemployment rates of drop-outs are higher, their labor force participation rates are lower, and they are susceptible to frequent spells of short-duration unemployment while moving among unsatisfactory jobs which involve little or no improvement in earnings or status.

Disadvantaged young people must receive employability preparation in job-seeking, job getting and job holding if they are to compete successfully in the labor market. The Quest and Invest educational curriculum was developed realizing that one of the purposes of education is to give individuals the basic competencies and skills required for successful employment or continued education.

PROJECT GOAL

Quest and Invest is a young adult preparatory project designed to prepare economically disadvantaged 16-21 year olds for employment and educational opportunities by offering employability skill training. The need for the Quest program has been demonstrated from participant stastical records. Youth from the city and county eagerly traveled to our office for service. From March, 1980 to September 30, 1980, Quest and Invest had enrolled a total of 221 participants. From October, 1980 to April, 1981, Quest had a total of 206 participants in the program.

TOTAL PARTICIPANTS

March, 1980 to April, 1981

	Males	Females	Total
City	159	161	310
County	48	59	<u>107</u>
		Total	427

The targeted population is burdened with severe problems which makes them the hardest to reach and "turn around." Some problems include: geographic location, education background, little or no family support, peer pressure, early pregnancy, lack of proper role models, motivation and anti-social behavior. Many of the Quest and Invest participants have been thwarted in their attempts to become mature, responsible adults. Quest and Invest provides this population with the opportunity to grow and become productive citizens.

Quest and Invest will:

1. Educate participants to the responsibilities and rewards of legitimate work.

2. Provide training in essential job obtaining and keeping skills.
3. Provide positive contact between participants prospective employers.
4. Follow-up on job placements on a regularly scheduled basis.
5. Inform and counsel participants about various educational and vocational programs.
6. Offer Employability Skills Training and G.E.D. preparation for program participants.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

Quest and Invest was designed and implemented March, 1980 as a young adult preparatory project offering employability skill training, and educational and career information, and job placement to "economically disadvantaged" 16 to 21 year olds. (High school students, out of school/college students and high school dropouts, 18-21.)

The Governor's Special Grant, Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (C.E.T.A.) fiscal year 1981 management information systems report, defines "economically disadvantaged" as a person who:

- A. A member of a family which receives public assistance;
- B. A member of a family whose income during the previous 6 months on an annualized basis was such that
 - 1. The family would have qualified for public assistance, if it had applied for such assistance; or
 - 2. It does not exceed the poverty level; or
 - 3. It does not exceed 70 percent of the lower living standard income level;
- C. A foster child on whose behalf state or local government payments are made;
- D. Where such status presents significant barriers to employment;
 - 1. A client of a sheltered workshop;
 - 2. A handicapped individual;
 - 3. A person residing in an institution or facility providing 24 hour support such as a prison, a hospital, or community care facility; or
 - 4. A regular outpatient of a mental hospital, rehabilitation facility or similar institution.

Quest participants receive a minimum wage stipend of \$3.35 for a total of 40 hours in the program which is stretched over a maximum of 8 weeks. All Quest participants must therefore qualify financially according to the C.E.T.A. eligibility requirements. (See Appendix A)

The issue of coupling stipends with provisions of employment and training services has received scant attention. Yet, there is clear evidence that providing allowances with training and other services has adverse effects. Participants in training programs should be personally motivated to successfully complete the training offered. The payment of allowances can vitiate the motivation. Often students enroll mainly for allowances and create problems for both the instructor and other participants.

When designing programs for youth recruitment, outreach, and assessment must be based on realistic appraisal of the community needs, and the efficiency of the employment and training tools available to meet those needs. Careful recruitment and screening of the applicant is important. However, the "disadvantaged youth" is not a monolithic group. Some can benefit from subsidized employment, skill training, counseling and placement services; others cannot.

Quest and Invest participants who were initially interested only in the stipend, eliminated themselves from the project after the orientation session where program goals and participant expectations were reviewed and discussed.

RECRUITMENT

Outreach and recruitment cannot be examined as an isolated component of an employment and training program. The methods used to motivate and create interest about a program can be judged only by how well the needs of those recruited correspond to those services which are being offered.

Outreach involves two concepts. A well publicized program which is conveniently located not only facilitates recruitment, but also leads to better information regarding the needs of our youth.

Recruitment . . . refers to the strategies and procedures which the Quest staff performs in order to locate and involve disadvantaged youth.

Community Penetration . . . technique used by Quest and Invest to obtain a place for themselves in the community where they live. It is important to be able to gain support from the following four (4) different publics;

- The general community
- Potential employer
- Agencies and organizations
- Indigenous groups, individuals

Recruitment has been and will continue to be an important component of the project. Public service announcements for radio and television as well as pamphlets and flyers have been helpful devices to recruit youth to join the Quest for training and employment.

Direct contact with youth at their "hang-outs," (ie, street corners, basketball courts, pool halls, etc.) is also a means of recruitment.

COUNSELING

Counseling sessions for Quest and Invest participants are conducted both on a one - to - one and group basis.

Individual counseling is useful for discussions of highly sensitive topics and for in-depth analysis of problems. Group counseling both conserves the counselors time and provides for useful group interaction.

The ultimate goal of the Quest and Invest staff is to offer employability skills development, which is to provide various services designed for an individual to overcome barriers of employment. Employability is a function of habits attitudes, deportment and general intellectual and positive manipulative skills.

After completing initial intake process the new enrollee is then scheduled for future counseling sessions, orientation, and classroom workshops. The Quest counselor gives the participant guidance by informing them of the legitimate rewards of work and various employment opportunities available. Only by keeping our youth abreast of occupational, educational, and vocational opportunities, will they be able to meet the demands of our changing world.

During the first counseling session after a student has been admitted into the program an Employability Development Plan (EDP) is completed with the student. This plan is an individualized plan of activities and services based on an in-depth assessment of the participants needs and desires. The purpose of the plan is to assist in guiding the participant through classroom activities and into unsubsidized employer or vocational training.

The EDP outlines employment objectives, career goals and job readiness. It also shows the student barriers to occupational advancement and provides information necessary for the student to overcome the barriers. Upon completion of the EDP, a review date is scheduled to assess the participants progress.

A career informational file was developed to provide students with reference materials regarding:

- Post Secondary Schools
- Vocational/Trade Schools
- Financial Aid
- Corporations
- Careers
- Social Services
- Occupational Outlook Information

Participants are encouraged to use the informational file to research areas of interest. Additional guidance is provided by using: Pamphlets, films, brochures, books, guest speakers, field trips, as well as group discussions.

False promises of guaranteed jobs are not given, but the student is informed that the opportunity does exist. The EDP demonstrates the participants' effectiveness and ability to cope with the world of work. Not only during counseling sessions does the Quest and Invest youth receive an unparalleled quality of training and development, but this type of newly-induced self concept is further enhanced by the classroom instructors.

The counseling performed at Quest and Invest is either career, vocational or educational. Career counseling is directed towards those students who show an interest in attending a post secondary institution. The counselors capitalize on their lifetime goal by exploring the students present interest. This technique offers the career oriented high school student, post high school student and college student the opportunity to move and clearly see which career path they should follow.

Vocational counseling on the other hand is designed to guide the participant towards short term educational training. This form of counseling informs the student of careers that do not require a Bachelors Degree. Quest G.E.D. participants are often interested in vocational training. The G.E.D. participants realize the necessity for additional training, however, they do not wish to attend a four year educational institution. Students in this category often have families or other pressing responsibilities which require a steady income as soon as possible.

Educational counseling begins with informing the student interested in a career or vocation, which curriculum to follow while in high school. Educational guidance helps the student make decisions to follow either a college preparatory or a vocational course of study. The Quest counselors maintain contact with the Pittsburgh Public School System and often attend seminars with the students. Participants who receive educational counseling are better prepared to make career choices.

ORIENTATION

All Quest & Invest participants must attend an orientation session which introduces the newly admitted student to the program. Program policies and procedures along with curriculum schedule are also discussed. Students are strongly encouraged to utilize the time spent at Quest to the fullest extent.

The instructors stress that the small stipend paid them is not for attending class and is not a paycheck but transportation money or money which can be used to go on job interviews or visit vocational schools or vocational schools or universities for additional information. Students are required to follow the Program rules and regulations and to actively participate in the classroom learning session.

Self initiative is also stressed and students are expected to assume the responsibility of their growth and personal development. Students are asked to:

1. Play an enthusiastic and active role in the classroom;
2. Identify personal strengths, weaknesses and interests;
3. Assume responsibility for individual development, and recognize your potential as a functional member of the community.

Program orientation includes review and discussion of the Quest & Invest Orientation Handbook, and viewing of an orientation slide presentation which visually reinforces goals and objectives of the project.

TESTING

Subsequent to Orientation is the testing component. Career Ability Placement Survey (CAPS) Is administered to locate and crystalize in a systematic and examination is designed to assist in career development.

Test results demonstrate occupational suitability in various careers and also employable strengths and weakness in the following categories:

1. Mechanical Reasoning measures the level of comprehension in mechanical principles laws of physics.
2. Spatial Relations measure the ability to perceive objects in three-dimensions;
3. Verbal Reasoning measures the level of comprehension in understanding and utilizing concepts expressed in words;
4. Numerical Ability measures comprehension of numbers in quantitative theory;
5. Language Usage measures competence in the use of standard English grammar, punctuation and capitalization.
6. Word Knowledge pertains to the level of knowledge of definitions and correct usage;
7. Perceptual Speed and Accuracy measure the ability to perceive minute details rapidly and accurately.
8. Manual Speed and Dexterity measures ability to make quick and accurate hand movements.

Each ability category represents a particular occupational area, for example, proficiency found in

- Mechanical Reasoning can show an occupational tendency in the areas of Technology or Science;
- Spatial Relations can illustrate an inclination towards Industrial Arts, Technology or Science;
- Verbal Reasoning could easily include careers in Communications, Science and professional levels in Service.
- Numerical Ability would be valuable in Science, Technology, Chemistry, Engineering, Business and Clerical fields;
- Language Usage is important for careers in professional levels in Science, Business and Service;
- Word Knowledge is important in Communications and all professional levels that require high levels of responsibility and decision-making;

- Perceptual Speed and Accuracy can aid in career development in visual perception and office work; and
- Manual Speed and Dexterity is excellent in Arts, Technology Careers and other manually performed jobs.

The CAPS examination has proven to better measure our student's occupational abilities and suitability by taking into consideration their innate and/or acquired abilities, interests and values.

CLASSROOM ACTIVITIES AND CURRICULUM

The Quest classroom offers a very unique educational setting. The students become the focal point instead of the rapid execution of a lesson plan. The classroom curriculum not only offers the students the opportunity of fulfilling their educational needs but attention is given to proper speech, personal appearance and presentation, effective communication skills development and job hunting techniques.

A complete and thorough examination of the student, his/her needs and overall progress is also a concern of the instructor. To adequately prepare each student who enters our door is a very demanding objective. However, fortunately the majority of our participants are self motivated and attend classroom sessions on time and demonstrate a sincere interest for self improvement. The ultimate challenge and purpose of the classroom becomes not only one of education but also that of a role model/character and values modifier. Along with transferring skills into effective job hunting strategies to obtain meaningful employment.

The instructors stress the importance of developing good work habits. Work habits, like study habits must be constantly evaluated and revised for maximum effectiveness. The student is informed that after obtaining a job, it is "a job" to keep it.

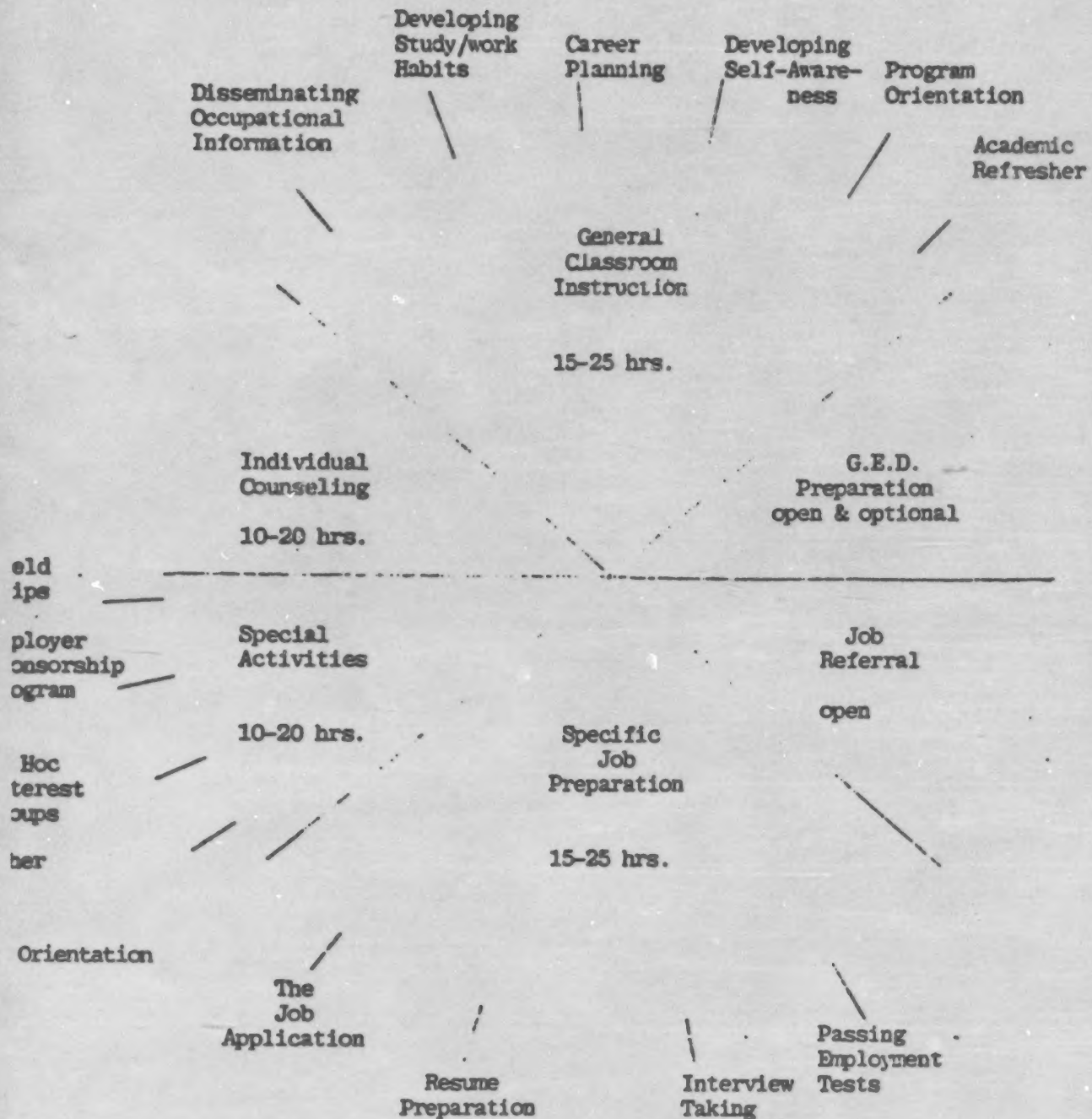
Films, guest speakers and field trips are used to further reinforce the materials presented in the classroom.

A. G.E.D. Preparation

The G.E.D. component is offered to prepare high school drop-outs 18-21 years of age for the G.E.D. exam. Initially this was a small and optional component of the program. However, due to the high percent of dropouts in the Pittsburgh area and the large percent of dropouts who have been enrolled in Quest. Administration is presently seeking funds

to offer a separate program for high school dropouts. From March, 1980 to April, 1981 a total of 135 Quest participants were high school dropouts, approximately 45% of the students have received their General Equivalency Diploma.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CONTENT AND TIME
FRAME FOR THE QUEST EDUCATION PROGRAM



**QUEST AND INVEST
BREAKDOWN OF CLASSROOM
CURRICULUM**

Orientation	1 Hour
Test Placements	3½ Hours
Resumé Application	6 Hours
Mock Interviews	3½ Hours
Job Applications	3 Hours

17 Hours

Films on Various Career Topics	6 Hours
Field Trips to Job Sites	6 Hours
Guest Speakers	4 Hours
Self Analysis	2 Hours
Passing Employment Test	2½ Hours
Interviewing Techniques	2½ Hours

23 Hours

Total 40 Hours

QUEST & INVEST YOUTH PROGRAM

Class Schedule

<u>DAY</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>SUBJECT</u>
Monday	9:00 A.M. - 10:00 A.M.	Orientation - Policy & Procedure
	10:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON	Testing & Placement Survey Career Ability Placement Survey
	1:00 P.M. - 2:00 P.M.	Orientation - Policy & Procedure
	2:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	Testing & Placement Survey Career Ability Placement Survey (CAPS)
Tuesday	9:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON	G.E.D. Academic Instruction
	1:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	Job hunting skills, resume preparation, mock interviews and occupation awareness for high school students.
Wednesday	9:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON	G.E.D. Academic Instruction
	1:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	G.E.D. Academic Instruction
Thursday	9:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON	Job hunting skills, resume preparation, mock interviewing, job applications and career awareness for high school graduates.
	1:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	Same as morning session
Friday	9:00 A.M. - 12:00 NOON	G.E.D. Academic Instruction
	1:00 P.M. - 4:30 P.M.	OPEN TO ALL STUDENTS Guest Speakers, field trips, career and self-awareness.

CURRICULUM OUTLINE FOR
GENERAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
QUEST AND INVEST

A. Correctiveness And Effectiveness in Expression

1. Spelling
2. Grammar and Usage
3. Sentence Structure
4. Pronunciation
5. Capitalization
6. Punctuation

B. Reading Comprehension And Vocabulary Skills

1. Locating the main idea
2. Inferring the main idea
3. Recognizing logical relationships
4. Making inferences
5. Inferring word meaning
6. Application of idea

C. General Mathematic Ability

1. Arithmetic
2. Fractions
3. Decimal - Fractions
4. Percentage
5. Graphs - Bar, Circle, and Line

D. Social Studies

1. United States Constitution
2. Government
3. Current events as they relate to Government and the U. S. Constitution

CURRICULUM OUTLINE

QUEST AND INVEST

I. ASSESSMENT OF WORK RELATED AND ACADEMIC SKILL

A. Career Ability And Placement Survey

1. Mechanical Reasoning
2. Spatial Relations
3. Verbal Reasoning
4. Numerical Ability
5. Language Usage
6. Word Knowledge
7. Peceptual Speed and Accuracy
8. Manual Speed and Dexterity

B. Diagnostic Instructional Aid-Mathematics

1. Whole Number Computation
2. Fractional - Number Computation
3. Decimal - Number Computation
4. Numeration
5. Operation
6. Problem Solving
7. Measurement

C. Diagnostic Instructional Aid - Correctiveness and Effectiveness

In Expression

1. Spelling
2. Grammar Usage
3. Sentence Structure
4. Style and Clarity
5. Punctuation
6. Pronunciation

II. ASSESSMENT SKILLS OF THE SELF

A. Activities And Exercises In Self-Assessment

1. Values
2. Feelings
3. Work Related Skills
4. Creativity
5. Goal Setting

III. EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION FOR SUCCESSFUL GROWTH

A. Activities And Exercises For Improvement of Communication Skills

1. Listening
2. Questioning
3. Assertiveness
4. Writing

IV. APPLYING FOR A JOB

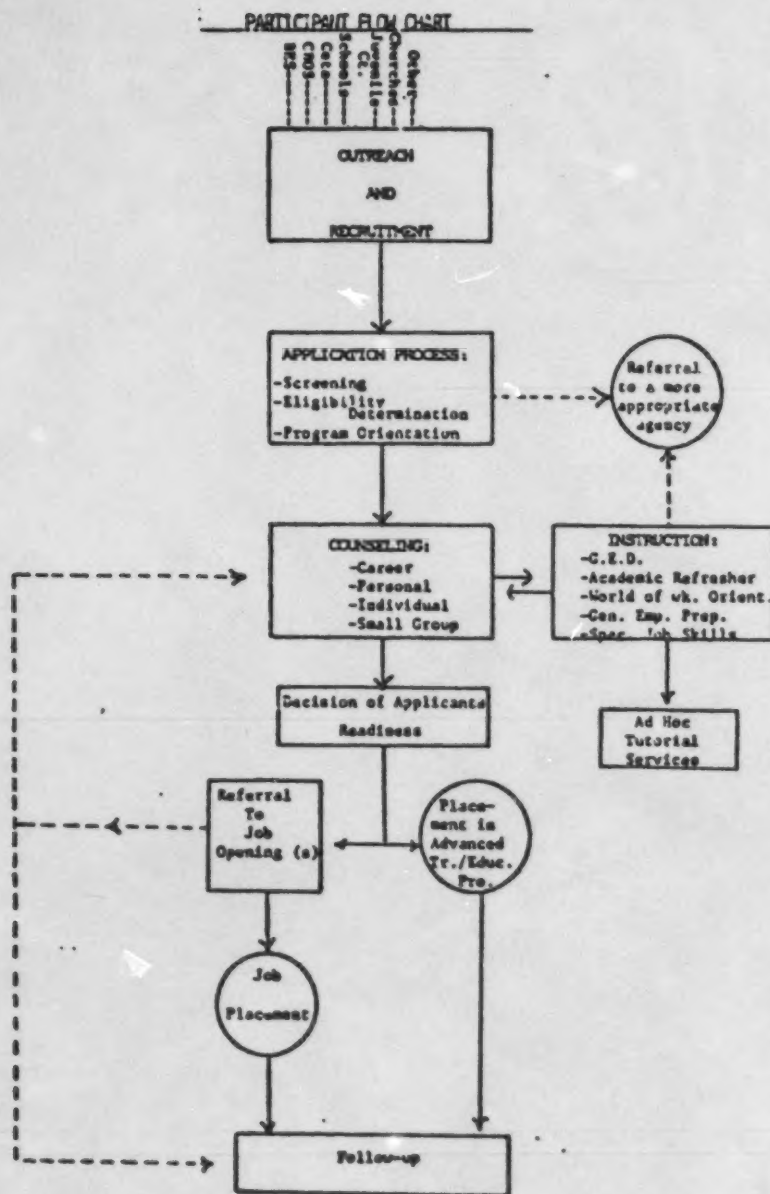
1. Improvement of Skills in Writing and Completing Job Applications.
2. Preplanning and Preparing Letters of Application and Resumes.
3. Practicing Employment Test

V. INTERVIEWING TECHNIQUES AND SKILLS MODULE

1. Do's and Don'ts in Preparing For An Interview
2. Dressing For The Interview
3. Researching Employer Information
4. Preparing a Job Goal Statement
5. Uses of Positive Body Language
6. Do's and Don'ts while Conducting a Job Interview
7. Role Playing and Mock Interviewing
8. Film and Game

VI. CAREER AWARENESS

1. Films Depicting Social, Career and Self Awareness
2. Guest Speakers from Various Organizations, Prospective Employers and Technical Training Schools



INCOME CHARTSPurpose

The purpose of this section is to provide program operators with charts showing, by family size and location, various income levels as they relate to:

1. The OMB poverty level guidelines
2. 70 percent of the Lower Living Standard Income Level
3. 85 percent of the Lower Living Standard Income Level
4. 100 percent of the Lower Living Standard Income Level

Policy

1. The OMB Poverty Level Guidelines

CETA reauthorization requires that to be eligible for services under Titles II-B and D, Title IV SYEP and Title VII an individual must be economically disadvantaged. Economically disadvantaged is partially defined as a person who is a member of a family whose annual income during the previous six (6) months on an annualized basis does not exceed the poverty level or seventy (70) percent of the lower living standard income level.

2. 70% Lower Living Standard Income Level

Eligibility to participate in CETA programs funded under Titles II-B, II-D, and IV Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) requires income determination of eligibility based on the higher of either 70% of the lower living standard income level or the OMB poverty guidelines.

3. 85% Lower Living Standard Income Level

Eligibility to participate in Title IV Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP) as described in Section 435 of CETA requires an income determination of eligibility based on 85% of the lower living standard income level.

4. 100% Lower Living Standard Income Level

Eligibility to participate in CETA programs funded under Title VI requires an income determination of eligibility based on 100% of the lower living standard income level.

General Instructions

- A. The OMB poverty level chart should be utilized by program operators for determining income eligibility of CETA applicants within all local prime sponsor areas.

B. 70%, 85% and 100% Lower Living Standard Income Level charts should be utilized for determining income eligibility of CETA applicants within local prime sponsor areas as follows:

- Program Operators in the following prime sponsor areas should use either the Metropolitan Area or the Non-Metropolitan Area income figures as appropriate:

1. Balance-of-State Pennsylvania
2. Lancaster/Lebanon Consortium
3. Lycoming Consortium
4. Schuylkill/Carbon Consortium
5. Southern Allegheny Consortium
6. Susquehanna Consortium

*Metropolitan Income Levels

- Program Operators in the following prime sponsor areas should use ONLY the Metropolitan Area Income figures:

1. Balance of Allegheny County
2. Balance of Erie County
3. Balance of Lackawanna County
4. Beaver County
5. Berks County
6. Bucks County
7. Chester County
8. Delaware County
9. Erie City
10. Lehigh Valley Consortium
11. Luzerne County
12. Montgomery County
13. Philadelphia City/County
14. Pittsburgh City
15. Scranton City
16. Washington County
17. Westmoreland County
18. York County

**Non-Metropolitan Area Income Levels

- Program Operators in the following prime sponsor areas should use ONLY the Non-Metropolitan Area Income figures:

1. Centre County
2. Fayette County
3. Franklin County
4. Lawrence County
5. Mercer County Consortium
6. Northumberland County
7. Tri-County Consortium

1981 POVERTY LEVEL GUIDELINES FOR ALL STATES EXCEPT ALASKA AND HAWAII (RFI, CETA NO. 35-81, 3/20/81)

<u>Size of Family Unit</u>	<u>Non-Farm Family</u>	<u>Farm Family</u>
1	\$4,310	\$3,680
2	5,690	4,850
3	7,070	6,020
4	8,450	7,190
5	9,830	8,360
6	11,210	9,530

For family units with more than six (6) members, add \$1,380 for each additional member in a non-farm family and \$1,170 for each additional member in a farm family.

70% LOWER LIVING STANDARD INCOME LEVEL - ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED
(RFI 50-80 6/3/80)

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Metropolitan* Area</u>	<u>Non-Metropolitan** Area</u>
1	\$ 3,250	\$ 3,130
2	5,320	5,130
3	7,310	7,040
4	9,020	8,690
5	10,640	10,250
6	12,450	11,990

For Family units with more than six (6) members, add \$1,810 for each additional member in a Metropolitan Area and \$1,740 for each additional member in a Non-Metropolitan Area.

85% LOWER LIVING STANDARD INCOME LEVEL - (RFI 50-80 6/3/80)

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Metropolitan* Area</u>	<u>Non-Metropolitan** Area</u>
1	\$ 3,940	\$ 3,800
2	6,460	6,230
3	8,870	8,550
4	10,950	10,560
5	12,920	12,460
6	15,110	14,570

For family units with more than six (6) members, add \$2,190 for each additional member in a Metropolitan Area and \$2,110 for each additional member in a Non-Metropolitan Area.

100% LOWER LIVING STANDARD INCOME LEVEL (RFI 50-80 6/3/80)

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Metropolitan* Area</u>	<u>Non-Metropolitan** Area</u>
1	\$ 4,640	\$ 4,470
2	7,600	7,330
3	10,430	10,060
4	12,880	12,420
5	15,200	14,660
6	17,770	17,140

For family units with more than six (6) members, add \$2,570 for each additional member in a Metropolitan Area and \$2,480 for each additional member in a Non-Metropolitan Area.

SUPPORTIVE SERVICES

Many of the participants need other forms of assistance before being referred to employment or before applying for vocational training. Transportation, clothing allowances, and child care services are the most needed services requested by our participants.

Other services available to our participants are: referral to other community organizations, notary service, check cashing services, assistance in completing financial aid forms and college/vocational school applications. Parental involvement in career decision making is encouraged.

The majority of the Quest participants seek immediate gradification. It is common to hear a student say "I want a job, I don't care what it is, I just want a job," not realizing the importance of self-fulfillment, abilities, values and interests.

CONCLUSION

In times of high unemployment, it is important that youth receive career and educational counseling so that they will be able to confidently compete in the labor market. Quest and Invest will continue to prepare economically disadvantaged youth through career counseling, classroom employability training and supportive services.

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THE KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS MOVEMENT:
THE CONTRIBUTION OF AN ETHNIC PROTEST MOVEMENT
TO NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN KENYA

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THE KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS MOVEMENT:
The Contribution Of An Ethnic Protest Movement
To National Independence In Kenya

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper will be to analyze some of the factors which contributed to the Independent Schools Movement among the Kikuyu people of Kenya, which began in the late 1920's, and to trace how this basically ethnic-oriented protest movement participated in, and contributed to, the national independence movement a quarter century later. The rationale of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement will be considered within the context of the multi-ethnic colonial society in Kenya. In addition, the curriculum and pedagogy which was employed to meet the Movement's goals will be examined, and the social, economic, and political outcomes - including the Mau Mau emergency and national independence, to which the schools' programs contributed - will be assessed.

The theoretical perspective which will be employed for social movement analysis will be Interest-Group Conflict, and will include the contribution which Nativistic Movement Theory makes to this type of analysis. It will be argued that the formative factors which predisposed the Independent Schools Movement's reforms were (a) the inequalities between Kikuyu and white opportunities for economic and social mobility, (b) the decentralized political and educational administrative structure, (c) the mission school curriculum, and (d) Kikuyu self-identity.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement (KISM) was part of a multi-stage process which began as a protest movement with nativistic overtones, and developed into a nationalistic movement with independence objectives. The KISM was an example of a development education program

based on Kikuyu culturally-perceived goals. As such, it provides educational anthropologists with a model of how social movements at the cultural level can result in innovative educational alternatives, and also how an indigenized educational program can contribute to cultural and national development.

The analysis of the KISM will employ the following organizational format. First, a brief summarization will be presented of the "bind" which led to the origins of the social movement. The second section will deal with the creation of the social movement's educational program, and will focus on the rationale for the KISM and the apparent goals which the leaders intended for the program. In the third section, we will consider the structures which were created for the maintenance of the KISM, and the pedagogy which was employed for reaching the educational objectives. Finally, educational outcomes of the KISM will be examined in order to assess their contribution to the over-all goals of the Independence Movement.

ORIGINS OF THE SOCIAL MOVEMENT

The colonial situation in Kenya did not begin to make its impact upon the social condition of the Kikuyu people until the latter part of the 19th Century. "With the start of the railroad and the declaration of the Protectorate in 1895"¹ and continuing on through the first quarter of the 20th Century, the great majority of immigrant Europeans (primarily British) moved into the Kenya highlands and attempted to take control of the destiny of the Kikuyu homeland. Included in the immigrant group of officials, traders, and settlers were missionaries mainly from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), representing the evangelical wing of the Church of England, the Church of Scotland Mission (Presbyterian), an American non-denominational group called the African Inland Mission (AIM), and the Italian Consolata (Catholic) mission.²

During 1898 and 1899 four disasters occurred in the Kikuyu area that forced collective migrations from traditional residential and agricultural areas: (A) an outbreak of rinderpest, (B) an invasion of locusts, (C) a smallpox epidemic, and (D) a long drought.³ Hundreds of settlers moved onto the Kikuyu lands vacated by this vacuum of tragedy, initiating the problem of land alienation which was the focus of so much of the subsequent Kikuyu-settler antagonism. "Only those lands which had been used by the Africans for cultivation were recognized as in 'native' occupation...the lands used intermittently as grazing grounds were regarded as available for settlement. This was the principle which had governed previous land alienations."⁴

Since the loss of traditional agricultural lands created a condition which the Kikuyus found to be adverse to indigenous methods of shifting cultivation, they subsequently found themselves forced into

a new role not found in - nor even psychologically compatible with - their traditional society; the role of the laborer with a dominated relationship vis-a-vis the settlers. Okumu, utilizing a Marxist interpretation, describes the new role imposed on the Kikuyus:

"...After the expropriation of the land, the poor peasant cannot utilize his hoe on it unless it is by explicit permission of his new landlord. But the new landlord insists that the peasant's instruments of production...are rudimentary and will not suffice for the more efficient exploitation of the land. More advanced instruments must replace those of the peasant. In this order, the peasant, his family and collateral kin lose their major source of existence (land) and their instruments for exploiting it. But the peasant still possesses his labor power. This will now have to be sold in order to provide for the barest necessities of life. But since the barest necessities of life include shelter, and because food becomes a matter of more immediate concern, the peasant, his family and collateral kin begin a new relationship of personal dependence in relation to their landlord as individual laborers."⁵

This dominant-dominated relationship was expressed through the migrant labor condition by which Kikuyus moved back and forth between their homelands and the settlers' farms. Okumu claims that this created a new personality in Kenyan society by producing laborers who "lived partly as peasants and partly as wage earners."⁶

A tool utilized by the colonial administration for purposes of governing indigenous areas, collecting taxes from the African population, and providing laborers for European farm and other economic enterprises,⁷ was the institution of the chieftaincy (i.e., "indirect rule"). Investing a "chief" with executive authority, as Kenyatta has pointed out,⁸ was an incompatible concept to the democratic spirit of the Kikuyu political system. "From the ndemi generation onwards the principles of democratic government, as laid down by the first itwika, continued to function favourably until it was smashed by the British Government, who introduced a system of government very similar to the autocratic government which the Gikuyu people had discarded many centuries

ago...The Gikuyu people do not regard those who have been appointed over their heads [by the colonial government] as the true representatives of the interests of the community."⁹ Itwika was a peaceful revolution, considered to be both democratic and constitutional by the Kikuyu, whereby the older age-group which wielded ultimate political power in the tribe was replaced by the next-younger age-group. Though the revolution occurred only about once every 25-30 years, it did afford full political participation for every adult male Kikuyu. "About 1925-28 was the time when the itwika ceremony was to take place corresponding to the last great itwika ceremony which was celebrated about 1890-98."¹⁰ The loss of this ceremony left the younger generation with an abiding sense of grievances both against the elders who occupied positions that they regarded as rightfully theirs, and against the Europeans who prevented the traditional itwika from bringing about change in the administration of the affairs of the tribe."¹¹

Mission endeavors in Kenya, though originating from a diversity of ecclesiastical and theological forms, were primarily evangelistic in intent. "The early evangelical and anti-slavery interests showed concern for the lives and souls of the African peoples, but it was a concern that paid little heed to the feelings or the cultures they had developed...For by definition evangelistic Christian missionaries required a complete change in the religious practices and beliefs of their converts. In attempting to secure these changes the early missionaries faced a 'new frontier' in human relationships."¹² Unfortunately the "new frontier" incorporated a degree of insensitivity towards certain Kikuyu customs, and an ignorance of the importance of these customs to the Kikuyu self-identity. Of particular concern was the issue of irua, the female circumcision ceremony, which was viewed by the East African

Scotland missionaries as pagan and debasing, but by the Kikuyus as humanizing. Kenyatta claims that "the abolition of irua will destroy the tribal symbol which identifies the age-groups, and prevent the Gikuyu from perpetuating that spirit of collectivism and national solidarity which they have been able to maintain from time immemorial."¹³ Irua served as the initiation ceremony for both males and females in Kikuyu society, and its importance was such that a person could not become a full member of society without having undergone circumcision.¹⁴

Utilizing the power which they had over Kikuyu behavior through their near-monopoly of the school system, the missionaries - especially at the urging of Dr. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission - passed resolutions which condemned the irua ceremony among women and attempted to force Kikuyu Christians to support the resolutions by either suspending them from the churches, refusing to allow their children into mission schools, or terminating employment relations with workers or teachers who refused to co-operate. This coercion by the missionaries caused significant social and psychological tension for their adherents, and resulted in a great deterioration in Kikuyu-Mission relationships because "the missionaries were, in effect, denying the women their membership title in the tribe."¹⁵

Economic imperialism based on the alienation of Kikuyu land and the dehumanization process caused by the migrant labor situation resulted in discontent and the beginnings of a political consciousness in the early 1920's. "The roots of the protest movements were deep in the history of relations between Africans and Europeans. In Central Province, the protests took shape in the activities of Harry Thuku and his followers between 1921 and 1922. One of its lasting products was the inception of the Kikuyu Central Association, a quasi-political and social organiz-

ation which appeared first in 1922."¹⁶ The primary issues this organization brought to the attention of the colonial authorities were (A) the 33 1/3% wage reduction being proposed by the settlers, (B) the increase from 5 rupees to 8 rupees for hut- or head-tax, (C) the registration system for African laborers (kipande), and (D) the problem of land tenure.¹⁷ On May 16, 1922, during a demonstration in Nairobi after the arrest of Harry Thuku, police shot into the crowd, killing 21 people.

"Partly as a result of the wide publicity given to this incident, partly due to the fact that the government feared that another rebellion might come, the wage earners and tax payers escaped the full burden of the proposed financial impositions. The proposed tax increase was rescinded, as were the wage cuts. Two of the immediate issues which had precipitated the formation of the early Associations and particularly the Young Kikuyu Association...now became irrelevant. The protest movements had achieved their immediate goal, i.e., to prevent the imposition of a new higher tax and the reduction of wages."¹⁸

For the next quarter century the Kikuyu Central Association, though created out of interest-group conflict, remained primarily a reform movement.

A secret movement in the 1920's, called Miti-ya-Kenya, arose in protest against both political imperialism and religious imperialism. When it became evident to the younger age group of Kikuyus that the colonial government intended to support the principle of the "chieftaincy" in opposition to the itwika, a general protest against colonial rule began to coalesce, which had characteristics of a nativistic movement. Some elements of the Miti-ya-Kenya who had more political than religious inclinations, and desired a more organized means of expressing their discontent, gave their support to the Kikuyu Central Association. The KCA, though primarily a reformist organization which met with some success in wresting concessions from the colonialists,

contained revolutionary elements due to the fact that the KCA was unable to resolve the land alienation problem, and it was this issue which caused the greatest bitterness in the majority of the Kikuyus and thus became the focus of the revolutionary group.

Another issue which concerned the Miti-ya-Kenya was the attempt by the missions to coerce Christians to repudiate irua, the female circumcision ceremony. The Kikuyu reaction to this issue appears to fit Linton's description of a Nativistic Movement, which he defines as "any conscious, organized attempt on the part of a society's members to revive or perpetuate selected aspects of its culture."¹⁹ In describing more fully the outcomes of a social movement of this type he states:

"What really happens in all nativistic movements is that certain current or remembered elements of culture are selected for emphasis and given symbolic value. The more distinctive such elements are with respect to other cultures with which the society is in contact, the greater their potential value as symbols of the society's unique character."²⁰

For many Kikuyus, the threat against irua was viewed as a threat to the survival of their humanity; therefore, its symbolic value as a focus against all of the injustices which they felt were inherent in the colonial condition was very great. From Linton's typology of nativistic movements²¹ it appears that the Kikuyu irua issue could be classified as Perpetuative-Rational. By definition, it fits into an interest-group conflict paradigm, and in this case was more of a reform movement than a revolutionary movement.

CREATION OF AN EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

"Rational nativistic movements can readily be converted into mechanisms for aggression. Since the dominated society has been frustrated in its earlier desires to become acculturated and to achieve social equality, it can frustrate the dominant society in turn by refusing to accept even those elements of culture which the dominant group is eager to share with it. Dominated societies which have acquired these attitudes and developed conscious techniques for preventing further acculturation present one of the most difficult problems for administrators. Passive resistance requires much less energy than any of the techniques needed to break it down, especially if the culture patterns of the dominant group preclude the use of forcible methods."²²

The emotional causative focus for the Kikuyu Independent Schools Movement was the female circumcision dispute between the missions (primarily the Church of Scotland Mission) and the Kikuyu people. Tribal protest leaders harnessed the energies unleashed by this nativistic expression in a very adept manner through the medium of the independent schools. However, though the focus for initiating the movement was nativistic, it must be realized that this was but one aspect of a larger arena of interest-group conflict - the nationalistic movement. Evidence for this can be found in an examination of the origins, objectives, and curriculum of the KISM, which were not related to the transmission of traditional Kikuyu life-styles, but to preparation for the nationalistic goal of political independence.

Formal education for Kikuyus in the first two decades of the 20th Century was left almost entirely to the missions. It has been suggested that the reason for this was the background of the British educational system of the 19th Century, where attendance was not perceived as a right of the masses, but as a privilege or duty to be performed by the upper classes. Since most colonial officials and other educated members of the European immigrant population in Kenya would have been nurtured on this elitist concept, it would have been rare to find someone

in this group who would have felt the need or the obligation to provide educational opportunities on a mass basis for Kikuyus. "This gives us a clearer understanding of the encouragement by the colonial government of a rather locally oriented mission-run education with a dearth of government schools, and the consequent reluctance of government to interfere in the everyday administration and practice of running these schools."²³

The purpose of the missions, as has been seen, was primarily evangelistic and although they had played a significant role in the anti-slavery movement,²⁴ they were to a great extent institutions which were adaptive to the prevailing economic, social, and political milieu of the times. Therefore their objectives in education were both conversion-oriented and supportive of the colonial system in which they operated. Heyman claims that the Kikuyu gave evidence of perceiving the economic outcomes of education as early as 1914²⁵ but that mission education - even though significantly oriented towards industrial education rather than literary education - did not.

"The demand in Kenya was for nonskilled workers for European farms, as well as for clerks in the mission and government offices. Settler demand for labour is well documented. The imposition of both a hut tax and then a poll-tax was one measure employed by the government to help insure a regular flow of unskilled manual labour which was otherwise in short supply. There seems to have been, therefore, little incentive for the Kenyan to get industrial training for skilled jobs which didn't exist, and which were less attractive than white collar jobs. It seems reasonable to conclude from this that government and mission policy which emphasized industrial education was determined more by political and social, than by economic, considerations."²⁶

As a result of this, Heyman hypothesizes that "the first impetus towards establishing...independent schools was the perceived inadequacy of the current system for meeting the demand for a specific type of education, namely, literary education, as opposed to industrial educa-

tion."²⁷ Therefore we see that although the catalyst for the independent schools movement was the nativistic reaction in the irua dispute, this had little relationship to the reforms in educational objectives and curriculum that resulted in the independent schools, for the literary education that was being demanded by the Kikuyus because of its economic implications²⁸ was not positively correlated to the maintenance of traditional Kikuyu self-identity since literary education was basically an acculturative rather than an enculturative transmission process.

It must be pointed out, however, that while economics was the primary basis for the reform innovation, the self-identity issue was extremely important as a factor in motivating a liberation rationale. For to a great extent, the independent schools movement in Kenya was a function of the independent church movement, the latter preceding the former. "Virtually all African independent schools movements were associated with independent church movements"²⁹ and since the latter were indigenous rather than ecumenical, economic factors must be relegated to a lesser role. This is because the indigenization of churches is ordinarily related to a reduction of financial resources for the local church organization because the repudiation of ecumenical ties leads to a minimization of inter-church aid. Therefore, while it is true that Kikuyus perceived greater economic advantages resulting from literary education, I wish to suggest that the Kikuyu identity crisis which enabled the mobilization of nativistic support for the irua dispute also was a contributing factor to the demand for literary rather than industrial education. It seems likely that the demand for literary reforms in education was an attempt by the Kikuyus to humanize what they perceived to be a dehumanized situation.

Schooling as provided by the missions had been growing rapidly.

It was estimated in 1922 that there were 50,000 Africans attending mission schools.³⁰ By 1930, however, it was reported that there were 83,403 pupils enrolled in 2,041 central and bush schools.³¹ In spite of the fact that there was dissatisfaction with the curriculum offerings both from a quantitative and qualitative standpoint, there were still great desires for schooling by the Africans even if it was second-rate when compared to European and Asian opportunities.

Despite increasing opportunities for schooling among Kikuyus, the mission education program did not resolve the issues of dehumanization and injustice that the people perceived. The Kikuyu Association (1920) and the Young Kikuyu Association (1921), as forerunners of the KCA, though primarily concerned with land and wage issues, "appear as important influences in the formation of KISA. The Kikuyu were beginning to react more visibly to grievances by the 1920's and this applied to mission, as well as to government, policy...Both the Kikuyu Association and the Young Kikuyu Association demanded improved educational opportunities for African children including compulsory primary school and more secondary schools."³² It is not possible to divorce the KISM from the larger domain of the proto-nationalistic associations of its birth period even though the catalytic focus was the nativistic irua dispute. The first president of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA), elected at Mahiga (Nyeri) in August 1934,³³ was Johanna Kuniyika (Kunyiha), who was a member of the Young Kikuyu Association.

Since mission education was either unable or unwilling to resolve the economic injustices and dehumanization of the colonial situation for the Kikuyus, and because land alienation was such an important focus of discontent, the building of new schools in the 1920's on reserve lands was met by great suspicion because it meant the loss of additional land

to the Europeans. Therefore as calls for independent schools began to be voiced in the 1920's, the proposal fell on receptive ears because "the development of independent schools, controlled by the Kikuyu, was at least some safeguard against further loss of Kikuyu land to the missions, or any other European institution."³⁴

The first independent schools established in Kikuyuland preceded the irua dispute by almost a decade, and were related to independent church groups that had broken away from the missions. The first school was probably at Giathieko in Kiambu in 1913 (which later developed into the Githunguri Teachers College) founded by members of the indigenous church which had been planted by the Gospel Missionary Society, and another was opened after a dispute between the missionaries and parents at Fort Hall in 1922 concerning the quality of education. The latter group was more directly related to the Independent Church movement among the Kikuyus, and "in 1927 a centre was built at Gakarara where both worship and schooling could take place, independent of the mission."

Links between the Kikuyu Central Association and the independent schools that opened prior to the irua dispute were concealed as much as possible for fear that the schools would be closed by the government for political reasons. Leadership of the KCA, including Harry Thuku, Musa Ndirangu, and Jomo Kenyatta, recognized the political potential of the schools and encouraged both school organizers and teachers to join the KCA. In calling for curriculum reforms they emphasized "the importance of Africans learning English and becoming well enough educated to be able to fight for their land both in the courts and by making representations directly to the British Government."³⁶

Many of the missions, under the influence of Dr. J. D. Arthur of the Church of Scotland Mission, were pressing increasingly for changes in African cultural behavior as a result of their exposure to Christian-

ity and "civilization". Since missions had a near monopoly of control on the educational institutions among the Kikuyu, they were in a position of considerable strength to attempt to bring pressure to bear for imposing cultural change. "It was this Kikuyu dependence on mission schools that made the circumcision crisis such an important event in the development of the independent schools movement. If the missions had not had a monopoly on education, it seems unlikely that their position on female circumcision among the Kikuyu would have provoked such a controversy, nor would it have provided the opportunity for such a strong show of African determination to have some alternative to mission schools."³⁷

Although behavioral change was coming to Kikuyu culture, and Kikuyu leaders recognized the validity as well as the inevitability of the acculturation and adaptation, they were concerned that they have the freedom and power to determine their own changes and cultural destiny. Their reaction to this additional imposition of a dehumanizing trend that could lead only to their ultimate cultural destruction, and prospects for a long-term subservient state which was incompatible to their identity structure either as individuals or as a collectivity, gave rise to a perpetuative-rational nativistic expression with regard to irua. "These leaders knew that changes had to come, but they were determined that Africans would learn to make decisions themselves, and recognized that if the initiative were left in the hands of the missionaries the European psychological domination of the African, and its control over his way of life, would grow stronger. Female circumcision offered an ideal issue on which to make a stand, because of its strong emotional overtones."³⁸

At the end of September 1929 the government reported that the focus of discontent had shifted from the land question to irua. Dr. Arthur's influence had led to a campaign by missionaries from the Church of Scot-

land Mission (CSM), the African Inland Mission, and the Gospel Missionary Society to eradicate the custom of female circumcision from Kikuyu culture. Since this ceremony was perceived by the Kikuyus to be "vital-ly important to the survival of the Kikuyu as a distinct people"³⁹ the symbolic importance of irua became the focus of Kikuyu resistance to colonialism. After Dr. Arthur precipitated the crisis by requiring all church members (including teachers and parents of students) to sign a resolution denouncing the custom - or face suspension from the church and from mission services - ninety percent of the congregation in Kikuyu left the church. CSM missionaries at Chogoria extended the oath to include a repudiation of all connections with the Kikuyu Central Association. "The flashpoint was finally reached...when large sections of the African congregations refused the missionaries' ultimatum and began to organize their own worship and their own schools, thus rejecting, and in some cases resisting, European authority in these matters."⁴⁰

All parties to the dispute were faced with a dilemma: the missions lost adherents and students - and therefore power, the government was under pressure to either set up secular schools or else finance independent schools - which would be resisted by the missions, and the Kikuyus desiring education were faced with an intense identity crisis that was compelling them towards a behavioral commitment.

"With most of the schools run by missions, the effect of demanding adherence to a specific teaching of the missions for permission both to teach and to attend school was bound to be instrumental in directing anti-mission activity into new pressure for establishing nonmission schools. Because the government had been continually reluctant to offer secular alternatives to mission schools on anything more than a minor scale, there was no choice but to accept the mission teaching or set up an independent Kikuyu school system."⁴¹

Heyman feels that the "fundamental cause" for the establishment of the independent schools was not the circumcision controversy but the fact that the colonial government did not provide an alternative to mis-

sion education.⁴² He cites evidence that local native councils had been requesting government schools, or funds to build council-administered schools, for many years prior to the irua controversy. If the government had given more than limited support to the local councils on this, Heyman feels that the independent schools would not have been inevitable as most government observers were prone to claim. At that stage the nationalistic movement, and even the KCA, was basically interested in reform not revolution - though, of course, there were revolutionaries within the KCA who saw no other resolution for the land problem.

The independent schools movement, though a function of the independent church movement, cannot be fully understood without reference to the Africans' overall desire for national independence. Therefore, the goals of the independent schools movement are complementary to the goals of the nationalistic movement. Though I have not found in my research a list of goals which were explicitly stated by the leaders of the schools movement, it is possible to deduce the following as the main objectives of the independent schools:⁴³

1. to increase opportunities of access to primary education
2. to expand the opportunity for secondary and tertiary level schooling, including government scholarships provided through the Native District Councils for overseas study in higher education,
3. to remove the control of education from missions and put it under local control - with the option of either colonial government or local Native District Council control if they were willing to make a responsible commitment to the first two objectives,
4. to revise the curriculum in order to make it more relevant to Kikuyus' perceived needs (i.e., English literary education).

There are three aspects of curriculum relevance that I wish to enlarge upon because the perceived needs of the Kikuyus regarding education differed from the needs which the whites perceived for the Kikuyus:

- (a) Anderson, speaking from the interest-group conflict perspective, claims that the basic aim of Kikuyu independent schools was to improve "African educational standards in order to challenge the Europeans' claim to leadership."⁴⁴ This could be done more effectively by discarding instruction in the vernacular language and concentrating on English right from the beginning, since early English teaching would make it possible for Kikuyu children to have greater access to, and success in, literary education. This was perceived as of great importance because it was believed that literary education led to more power than vocational skills, both from a political as well as an economic standpoint. Increased access to power in the dominated conditions of the colonial situation was important not only for concrete competitive reasons which promised more egalitarian outcomes, but also for abstract identity purposes, especially at a time when the foundation of cultural survival was being purposefully attacked. For the Kikuyu, literary education held forth the prospect of restoring a positive self-identity because it was perceived by them as a tool to humanize a dehumanized social condition vis-a-vis the whites.
- (b) Kenyatta's basic defense of the irua ceremony was that its abolition would destroy the "spirit of collectivism and national solidarity", and his most virulent attacks on European education were against its goals of individualism:

"...to the Europeans 'Individuality is the ideal of life,' to the Africans the ideal is the right relations with, and behaviour to, other people...while the Europeans place the emphasis on one side the Africans place it on the other."⁴⁵

Therefore we can assume that one of the objectives of perceived relevance would be to maintain what he terms the "customary law of behaviour."⁴⁶ This, of course, cannot be divorced from the identity

issue referred to above.

- (c) On February 4, 1929, Jomo Kenyatta as Secretary of the K.C.A. wrote a letter to the Colonial Secretary in which he outlined the educational concerns which the Association was promoting. While most of the requests refer to the first three objectives of the KISM, one deals specifically with curriculum reform. "One of the most interesting features of these requests is the emphasis on agriculture in primary education. The word Kenyatta uses for agriculture, Ngirigaca, is a Kikuyu corruption of the English word and implies very clearly the new European skills relevant to the cultivation of cash crops, as opposed to the Kikuyu words urime, traditional farming, or gicumba, digging."⁴⁷ Whereas part of the revolt was against industrial education because it did not hold forth viable economic outcomes for the graduate, the KCA's proposed curriculum reforms towards literary education should not be perceived as a misconception of the realistic economic resultants of education. For the Kikuyu perceived - and correctly so for that period in time - that the greatest economic outcomes would come through preparation to replace the European business and bureaucratic community and through gaining access to those agricultural opportunities - cash crops - that had previously been restricted only for the white settler population. The latter was more than just a problem in the reform of agricultural education, but bears evidence of how Kikuyu economic and political perceptions influenced their proposal for independent schools, and how the whites' perceptions of the same conditions differed so drastically.

EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES AND PEDAGOGY

As the independent schools began to be established on a rapid basis in the early 1930's, the funding dilemma came to the fore. Because the colonial government was responding very slowly to requests for the development of a secular school system, the Kikuyus utilized two basic structures to maintain and expand the independent schools movement. The first was the attempt to receive financial assistance through the local Native Councils, and this met with varying degrees of success because some councils had been involved in educational pursuits prior to the irua controversy and had been pressure points on the government for the establishment of a secular school system. "The local native councils in Fort Hall, Kiambu, and Nyeri voted £20,000 to establish schools, and were anxious to begin work on them. It seemed not to matter whether one had been mission educated or pagan, the general demand was for secular education."⁴⁸ Most participating local native councils such as the ones in Fort Hall were apparently favorable towards nondenominational out-schools under government supervision. As such, their basic orientation was not revolutionary but reformist through cooperation with the colonial government. The government, which originally was more inclined to continue support for mission educational institutions and felt that the KISM would not have a survival capability, soon began to receive input from district commissioners concerning the advisability of cooperating with the councils in order to maintain control and supervision of the new schools which were being opened. Because of the far-reaching ramifications of this dilemma for the maintenance and survival of the colonial system in Kenya, in general the government responded slowly to the requests.

"...The government reluctance to act more decisively, especially in support of local native council schools, seems to have been based largely on the fear that a proliferation of

nonmission schools would result in insoluble problems in proper supervision and control. Yet the intransigence of the government seems to have been equalled by a large section of the Kikuyu population which demanded a new school system. The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association (KISA) and the Kikuyu Karinga Educational Association (KKEA) seemed to develop primarily to meet this need which the government could not or would not meet."⁴⁹

These two independent schools associations composed the second structure which enabled the maintenance and expansion of the Kikuyu system. In late 1929, independent church and school committees began to form in an attempt to reorganize the confusion that resulted from the deadlock over the irua dispute. Since they were generally unable to gain access to church and school buildings previously held by the missions, the committees were forced from the outset into building programs. "During the 1930's, independent committees increasingly followed a programme of school building, organising self-help groups to provide the labour, and various forms of financial collections to cover the costs."⁵⁰ Where possible, they sought assistance through the local native councils to gain access to grants-in-aid, but the main orientation was one of self-help. Operating costs were financed out of contributions and students' fees, but without foreign assistance the financial picture stabilized at a bleak - though operable - state.

Due to the localized concerns of most independent school committees in the first years, there was little formal co-ordination between committees. The KCA played a linkage role in establishing meetings at the district level, and it was from these gatherings that the two independent schools' associations were formed. Though claiming to hold similar aims, the KKEA and KISA split over strategy for implementing their goals.

The KKEA began to form in southern Kiambu in 1929 and consisted primarily of those who had broken with the Church of Scotland Mission station at Kikuyu (Dr. Arthur's base). "The name Karing'a, which in English can be translated as 'pure', was chosen to emphasise the intention of the

group to remain free from direct European influence on its affairs. Rather than aiming to resist changes in Kikuyu customs and the advent of the Christian religion per se, the Karing'a leaders sought to assert the rights of the Kikuyu people and to develop their abilities to decide upon the pace and direction of the changes which were affecting them so deeply."⁵¹ In September 1933 the Kikuyu Karinga Education Board of Kiambu was formed and elected Musa Ndirangu as chairman, Johana Karanja Kiraka as vice-chairman, and Alan Muturi as secretary.

"...In the negotiations that followed in 1934 with the independent schools in other districts, a difference of opinion began to develop in the Kiambu group, particularly as it was realised that under Daudi Maina's influence the Murang'a group had already opened negotiations with the Anglican Bishop of Mombasa about training for teachers and for ordained ministers. At a meeting held at Kamahea School in 1934 to discuss this issue a division occurred. The first group under Johana Karanja Kiraka refused to send representatives to meet Maina. These people stressed that they would concentrate solely on developing schools for seven years, arguing that it was pointless for Africans to try to negotiate with Europeans until they were their educational equals. The second group, giving much more weight to the need for co-operation between the districts and the development of a national movement, chose to send representatives to the Gituamba meeting and there agreed to join in the development of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association."⁵²

Shortly after the August 1934 gathering at Gituamba (Murang'a) where KISA was inaugurated, Johana Kunyiha (Nyeri) was elected president and Hezekiah Gachui (Murang'a) was elected vice-president. Though the KKEA had a more tribalistic and anti-European orientation than the KISA, which was willing to cooperate with the government for school subsidies, both groups had close ties with the Kikuyu Central Association and had, in effect, been offshoots from the KCA. F. D. Corfield, in his very anti-KCA and anti-Kenyatta report to the British Government in 1966 on the origins and growth of the Mau Mau movement, gives a much more definite - though perhaps inaccurately exaggerated - divergence between the KKEA and the KISA:

"From its inception the K.K.E.A. was in essence a purely secular society under the influence of the Kikuyu Central Association and hence in general opposed to any form of Government or Mission control. Its primary object was the provision of a school system which would satisfy Kikuyu nationalistic and separatist ambitions and its predominant desire was to avoid the notice of, or interference from, non-Kikuyu influences.

On the other hand, though K.I.S.A. attempted to maintain a religious basis and to follow a non-political course, it would be entirely incorrect to suppose that among its supporters there were neither members of the K.C.A., either with or without religious leanings, nor politically minded Kikuyu in overt or secret sympathy with the anti-European objectives of K.C.A. But the general policy of the group favoured a loyal attitude and a degree of co-operation with authority."⁵³

One other difference that arose between KKEA and KISA was their respective allegiances with two separate independent church groups in Kenya. Any KKEA adherents who had religious ties generally lined up with the African Orthodox Church whose founder, Archbishop William Daniel Alexander, a South African black, had originally been invited to Kenya by KISA leaders who desired ordination training for Kikuyu pastors, following their inability at rapprochement with the CMS or the CSM in 1932. When Archbishop Alexander made attempts in 1937 to gain greater control over the Kikuyus through the African Orthodox Church, he was rebuffed and KISA leaders led by Rev. Daudi Maina established the African Independent Pentecostal Church. Thereafter the dichotomy between the KKEA-African Orthodox Church and the KISA-African Independent Pentecostal Church made a unified independent school movement virtually impossible for more than a decade.

Though we shall return later in the paper to consider one more substructure in the independent schools movement, the Kenya Teachers College at Githunguri which was opened in 1939, at this juncture we will examine the curriculum that the independent schools followed during the 1930's. Since one of the goals of the movement was to reform the curriculum to make it more relevant to Kikuyu perceptions of colonial reality, it is

important to know what actually was taught in the schools. Because Kikuyus equated literary education with power in the economic and political arenas, it was to be expected that great emphasis would be put on this. G. E. Donovan, a government education inspector in Kiambu District in 1933, found very little in the way of school supplies - "readers in Kikuyu, Swahili, and English, some hymn books, a book on geography, a book on tropical hygiene, and a New Testament."⁵⁴ Instruction for a curriculum which included "religious knowledge, physical training, arithmetic, reading, and hygiene,"⁵⁵ was available in either English or Kikuyu - though students desiring English teaching paid higher fees. Though Kenyatta had stressed modern agriculture as an educational goal, Donovan found neither agricultural training nor handiwork for the student - a distinct difference from previous industrial course offerings in mission schools.

The most basic change - and one which caused the greatest criticism from government educators for "efficiency" reasons - was the provision of English teaching down to the pre-primary level rather than waiting until standard seven as government regulations required. Since few independent school teachers were adequately trained and/or certified to teach English the government tried to use the threat of abolishing grants-in-aid through native councils if the independent schools persisted in teaching in an "inefficient" and "unqualified" manner. This threat, though causing some tension for those in KISA who were committed to co-operation with the government, does not appear to have deterred the Kikuyus from pressing forward with their "substandard" English-dominated literary curriculum.

A resurgence of nativistic instruction does not appear to have occurred in the schools' pedagogy,⁵⁶ as might have been expected from the intensity of the irua dispute, nor were there any regulations binding

upon either female students or their parents which affected school (or church) attendance. Since irua was not the basic issue in the nationalistic movement that had played such an important part in initiating the desires for the new educational system, it apparently went into rapid eclipse once the independent schools had begun to be established. "Although they defended their right to circumcise their daughters, there is some evidence that certain independent church leaders did not do so and in some cases they married girls who were not circumcised."⁵⁷ At present, though female circumcision is still practised in more traditional Kikuyu areas - especially if an elderly grandfather is still present in the family circle - the initiation ceremony evidently is waning rapidly.⁵⁸ One wonders what affect this is having - if any - on Kikuyu self-perception since Kenyatta felt that the ceremony was crucial for the maintenance of a sense of Kikuyu identity.

I wish to propose that a non-formal aspect of the independent schools' pedagogy - since it was divorced somewhat from classroom instruction for the children - was the concept of self-help. Since the KISM did not have recourse to foreign finances, or adequate funds through government taxation, the people had no other alternative except self-help for school construction and operating budgets. Though Donovan's inspection revealed an absence of collective agricultural training and projects in the schools, counter to the KCA educational goals espoused by Kenyatta, the concept of collective spirit was taught (or more likely reinforced) to the entire community rather than to just the students through the cooperative self-help that was necessary for the survival of the schools. This non-formal educational transmission seems to have been one of the most important outcomes of the processes at work in the KISM.

In order to consider the final pedagogical aspect - leadership

training for the nationalistic movement - we must consider the last important sub-structure of the KISM, the Kenya Teachers College at Githunguri. On the basis of the two main sources, it is very difficult to get an accurate picture of how this institution functioned, what was taught, and what the outcomes were. Corfield's hostile attack on the school and on Kenyatta's role in the school attempts to tie it directly into the Mau Mau insurgency, and presents an impressive amount of documentation from government files. John Anderson's description, though more rational and less documentary, does not mention a relationship between Githunguri and Mau Mau per se but leaves one wondering about some of his nuances regarding "the college's basic educational purpose."

The college was opened in 1939 by Peter Mbuvi Koinange, son of the senior chief at Kiambu, when he returned from studying in England and the United States with an M.A. in Education from Teachers College, Columbia University. Corfield indicates that Koinange's primary ties for opening the school were with KKEA but Anderson states that the charter meeting was "well-attended by the leaders of both groups"⁵⁹ (i.e., KKEA and KISA). Anderson reports that initial plans were to train 25 selected students to be teachers in the independent schools, but Corfield's version is as follows:

"The 'college' started with 225 pupils of all standards, mainly drawn from Karinga schools. Opened under the auspices of the Kikuyu Central Association in temporary buildings which formed part of a local Karinga school, and despite the indifferent educational facilities offered, it rapidly became the Mecca for pupils of politically minded parents and the headquarters of the growing Kikuyu nationalistic movement."⁶⁰

When Jomo Kenyatta returned from England in 1946, he made Githunguri his base and it became the center for Kikuyu political thinking. Kenyatta was in the forefront of fund-raising drives during the next 5 years, and Corfield indicates his suspicion that Kenyatta embezzled great sums from the building fund. Both Kenyatta and Koinange joined

others on the staff and their "aim was to produce students, who, whilst able to handle so-called 'European knowledge and techniques', remained linked firmly with their African heritage and committed to achieving an African form of modern independent society"⁶¹ (italics mine). In addition to the normal curriculum and Koinange's attempts to introduce agriculture, animal husbandry, typing, and the spinning and weaving of wool, the two men taught anthropology, economics, and current affairs to the senior students. Though the latter subject had definite political overtones, Anderson states that "these lessons appear to have been of a general educational nature, rather than specific training sessions for party organisation or direct subversion."⁶² Corfield would undoubtedly take issue with that statement, I feel, and would certainly not be sympathetic with Anderson's summarization of Githunguri's basic educational purpose - "to provide higher education aimed at the full development of Africans, catering for their emotional desires for self-determination and cultural freedom (italics mine), as well as their needs for purely intellectual development and practical skills."⁶³ With Corfield's orientation, however, that purpose could very easily be classified as subversive!

While considering the KKEA schools as centers of sedition and tribalism - and classifying Githunguri school as part of the KKEA - Corfield in general praised the KISA group for their loyalty, cooperation, and self-help (though he felt they were inefficient and of inferior quality). He claims that Kenyatta was able, beginning in 1948, to penetrate the KISA and utilize it for his personal political ambitions. "The important feature of Jomo Kenyatta's subversion of the K.I.S.A. schools was not the inculcation of disloyalty among part of a single generation of juveniles (he obtained control too late for this to be effective), but his use of the schools buildings, and their managing bodies, as foci for

the spread of Mau Mau."64

Claiming evidence of oath-taking ceremonies conducted at independent schools (i.e., Kinyoho KISA school in May 1950), in which some teachers and students participated, and attributing to the KKEA curriculum the indoctrination of Kikuyu youth with hatred towards the Europeans for stealing their birthright, Corfield justifies the closing of most KISA and KKEA schools (including Githunguri) during the Mau Mau Emergency. "On 14th November, 1952, both K.K.E.A. and K.I.S.A. were declared illegal associations and 34 schools, including the Teachers' Training College at Githunguri were closed. By the end of January a further 150 schools were closed. Of the total of 184 schools closed, 149 were K.I.S.A., 21 K.K.E.A. and 14 under other management. A total of 24 schools were allowed to remain open - subject to District Education Board supervision. These included nine K.I.S.A. schools in Fort Hall which under Johanna Kunyiha had so bravely withstood the original onslaught of Githunguri."65 At that time the Education Department estimated that there were 220 independent schools with a total enrollment of 28,000 students (Kenya claimed 60,000 pupils in 342 schools) as compared with 105,000 students in mission and government schools.

OUTCOMES OF THE KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS MOVEMENT

Since the educational goals of the KISM which were stated earlier in this paper coincided with the educational concerns of the Kikuyu Central Association in the 1920's and 1930's, we can assume that attainment of those objectives made a positive contribution to the nationalistic movement that subsequently led to independence in December 1963. Conversely, lack of goal attainment can be considered as a negative contribution. Though the KCA was declared to be an illegal association on May 30, 1940, the influence of its leadership contributed greatly - possibly crucially - to the attainment of independence. Therefore it can be argued that though the KISM originated as a nativistic protest movement, it subsequently became an integral aspect of the nationalist-ic independence movement.

The first goal dealt with the expansion of access to primary schooling for Kikuyu children. Although it is impossible to obtain a precise accounting of the number of primary-level independent schools, it is estimated that there were between 220 (Corfield) to 400 (Karanja and Koinange), though the latter obviously included unlicensed classes of squatters' children that operated underground because of settler resistance. By 1952 perhaps 1/4 to 1/3 of Kikuyu primary school attenders were enrolled in KISM schools. In 1930 there were 5,849 students in mission central schools and 72,570 in mission-assisted village schools for all of Kenya.⁶⁶ By 1952 there were 165,000 Kikuyu students alone. Therefore, we can see a marked expansion of basic schooling for Kikuyus, to which the KISM significantly contributed.

The second goal of expanding educational opportunities at the secondary and higher education levels was only slightly realized. The writer found no evidence that government scholarships for overseas study, even with Native Council support, were increased as a result of the in-

fluence of the KISM. Of the schools which were established by the KISM only two attained the level of junior secondary schools, Kahuguini School in Kiambu and Mahiga School in Nyeri. The institution at Githunguri was the only one classified as either a college or a teacher training facility.

Significant progress was realized towards the third goal of removing the control of education in the Kikuyu area from missions, and either placing it in local or government hands. All KISM schools were under Kikuyu control, though the KISA was not as rigid as the KKEA in its insistence of non-interference from whites. However, there is no evidence cited which would indicate that KISA cooperation with the Department of Education ever resulted in a loss of control for KISA in any of its schools, though it was desire-to-control which motivated the government's attempts to retain supervisory and standardization relationships.

The fourth goal was to revise the curriculum in order to make it more relevant to Kikuyus' perceived needs. One important facet of this goal was to combat the individualistic spirit which Western education imbued in students, and to re-emphasize a traditional collective spirit which would enhance and maintain Kikuyu self-identity. Though the evidence for curricular changes which would counteract individualism are negative - and in fact the literary education which KISM pursued was counterproductive for goal attainment - there is evidence in the wider community that the traditional collective spirit was enhanced. This occurred as a result of the self-help efforts which made possible the construction and maintenance of the KISM schools for more than 20 years prior to their closure during the Mau Mau emergency, and the Harambee ("pull together") orientation of the Kenyatta government after independence.

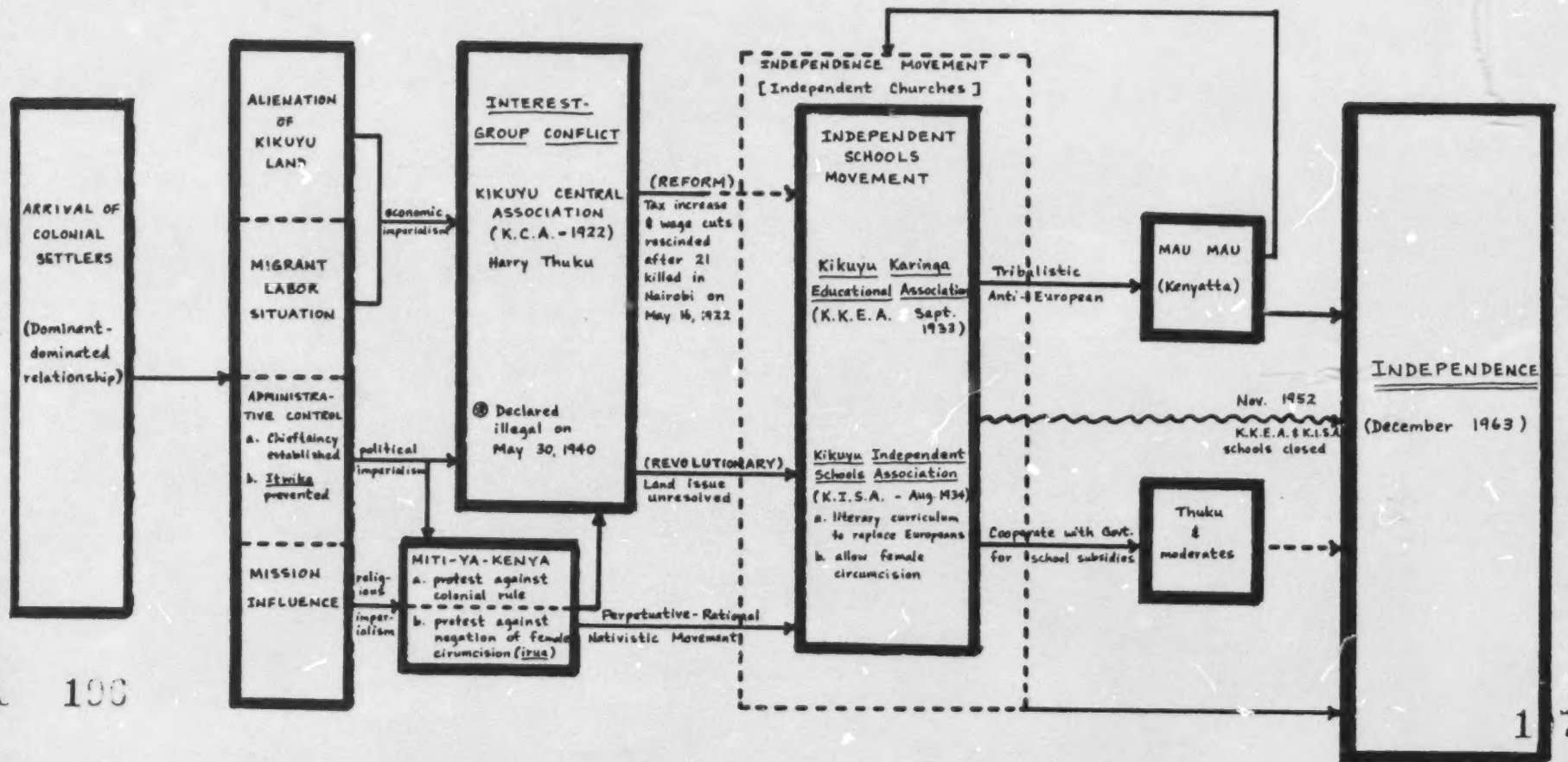
Related to the traditional collective spirit - though again not

evidenced in the curriculum design - was the continued observance of the irua ceremony. Since its symbolic nativistic importance apparently diminished after the controversy with the missions in 1929, the initiation at the present time is decreasing in importance for Kikuyu identity maintenance.

The important goal of improving standards in order to challenge European leadership is related to the Kikuyus' belief that literary education had more potential for power than did industrial education. Because of this curricular change, and especially because of the emphasis on studying English at the outset of formal education, it can be surmised that this enabled the Kenyans to nationalize the civil service and other white collar opportunities more rapidly and/or more effectively than they would have if the former mission curriculum had been maintained. Statistics were not found available, however, which would indicate the percentage of white collar jobs occupied by Kikuyus who had benefited from the KISM experience or the rate at which they were able to replace Europeans in these positions.

The ability to challenge European leadership involved more than communication skills in English. The organizational ability which was needed to successfully conduct the independence movement does not appear to have been learned from the curriculum changes. However, the whole range of organizational and administrative experiences involved in operating the KISM for the quarter century prior to independence undoubtedly produced leadership from the Kikuyu people which was instrumental in the successful independence struggle and in the first two decades of Kenya's nationhood.

OPERATIVE DYNAMICS RELATED TO KIKUYU INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS MOVEMENT



FOOTNOTES

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5. Okumu, Ibid., pp. 54-55
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20. Linton, Ibid., p. 231
21. Linton, Ibid., p. 233
22. Linton, Ibid., p. 239
23. Richard D. Heyman et al, Studies in Educational Change. Holt, Rinehart and Winston: Toronto, 1972, p. 116
24. Anderson, Op.cit., pp. 9 and 12

25. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 117
26. Heyman, Ibid., p. 117
27. Heyman, Ibid., p. 116
28. Political implications resulting from literary education do not appear to have been perceived until a later time
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30. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Annual Report 1922. London, 1924, p. 14
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33. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 119
34. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 120
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36. Anderson, Ibid., p. 117
37. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 121
38. Anderson, Op.cit., pp. 117-118
39. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 121
40. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 117
41. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 123
42. Heyman, Ibid., p. 125
43. Heyman, Ibid., p. 115
44. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 122
45. Kenyatta, Op.cit., p. 118
46. Kenyatta, Ibid., p. 106
47. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 133
48. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 123
49. Heyman, Ibid., p. 125
50. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 118
51. Anderson, Ibid., p. 119

52. Anderson, Ibid., p. 119
53. Corfield, Op.cit., p. 172
54. Heyman, Op.cit., p. 127
55. Heyman, Ibid., p. 127
56. Unless one wants to equate this with later Mau Mau oathing at some
of the schools
57. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 118
58. Informal interview with a Kenyan national, Mrs. Florida Karani,
on November 12, 1975
59. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 123
60. Corfield, Op.cit., p. 182
61. Anderson, Op.cit., p. 124
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66. Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Education Department Annual Report
1930. Nairobi: Government Press, 1930, Table IX

CULTURAL CONDITIONING AND THE
EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

By

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CULTURAL CONDITIONING
and the
EXPRESSION OF EMOTION

Anne M. Werdmann, Ph.D.

"Some of us go through life saying 'I'm hungry!' when we mean 'Nobody loves me!' but we say it with as much conviction at 300 pounds as we did at 30."

Kronovet and Shirk, 1967, p.165.

Children's general well being rests heavily on healthy emotional development which, in turn, is largely dependent on their ability to recognize and express different feelings. Learning appropriate ways to express emotion is culturally conditioned and differs for males and females in our society. Lakoff (1975) spoke especially of the conditioning received by girls regarding the expression of feelings:

"As children, women are encouraged to be 'little ladies.' Little ladies don't scream as vociferously as little boys, and they are chastised more severely for throwing temper tantrums or showing temper" (p.11).

While children of the female sex are cautioned to repress angry and aggressive feelings, they are permitted to demonstrate their emotions by crying, a freedom not permitted young males (Jourard, 1964).

These differences in societal expectations are reflected in the media and in the books children read (For example, Prather and Fidell, 1975; Czaplinski, 1973). Despite the Feminist Movement, the scene does not seem to be changing rapidly.

In a study of the communication of affect in young children, Buck (1973) found no sex differences in terms of "sending ability." In another study, where the subjects were undergraduates, Buck and others (1974) found statistically significant sex differences in the ability to communicate emotional meaning; women were more accurate senders than men. These results seem to indicate that age is a definite factor in the social conditioning of sex roles.

Farmer (1967) studied the language of emotion in children in terms of developmental changes. He found that the total number of different emotionally descriptive responses generally increases with age. Moreover, the largest consistent increase in vocabulary used and categories named occurred between the ages of ten and twelve.

This advance in children's capacity to describe their feelings with a greater number of different categories of meaning parallels their growth in verbal and linguistic skill. Moreover, the most dramatic changes in the number and kind of emotional descriptions given by children take place at the onset of adolescence, a time when possible shifts in cognitive processes are believed to occur. According to Piaget (1958), seven to eleven-year-old pre-adolescents rely primarily in their thinking on concrete, perceptually dominated kinds of categorization called "concrete operations." Eleven to fifteen-year-old adolescents, on the other hand, are capable of "formal operations," which make possible consideration of the hypothetical and the future, as well as the immediate present. Younger children are presumably more narrow, restricted, and stimulus-bound in their cognitive assessments; older children should possess the ability to describe their experiences from broader, more abstract, more faceted points of view. They are able to think about

thinking. Farmer's study implied that they are also able to think about feeling.

When Lewis and others (1971) studied the development of the language of emotion, they discovered that, as children grow older, they demonstrate increased freedom from the external environment for cues to emotional meaning. Older children also tend to describe their feelings more as thoughts or ideas than as body sensations.

While children may improve in the ability to talk about their feelings as they mature, the intensity of their expression decreases with age. In an earlier study "Words and Feelings: Children's Vocabulary of Selected Emotions," I investigated children's responses to vocabulary items which had previously been identified as emotion-laden (Werdmann, 1976). Forty fourth graders and forty sixth graders rated specific words in three ways: in isolation, in selected verbal contexts, and accompanying pictured situational contexts. Since the results of that study formed the basis for the present investigation, some of the findings will be discussed here.

When the children's ratings of the words in isolation were analyzed, interesting patterns emerged. Statistical tests comparing ratings given by the various subgroups revealed that fourth graders consistently gave stronger responses than did sixth graders. Similarly, girls rated the words with more intensity than did the boys. Moreover, word choice did not vary much by age, sex or race even though the general strength of reaction was found to be stronger for younger children and girls. In other words, the children exhibited general agreement about which words they considered to be better or worse than others. Some of those words which elicited strong feelings were incorporated into the questions developed for the present study.

The possible influence of sexual conditioning and connotations was examined by linking the words "boy" and "girl" with thirty randomly selected test words. In general, words received stronger ratings when linked with "boy" as contrasted to "girl." In statistical tests the sex of the respondents was found to be directly related to intensity of feeling about particular phrases. For example, males responded to "dead girl" with significantly less intensity than they did to "dead boy" and significantly less than the female children did to either phrase. On the other hand males rated "smart boy" significantly stronger than they rated "smart girl."

Two other verbal contexts which were examined were "puppy" and "friend." Results revealed that phrases such as "dead puppy," "gentle puppy" and "smart puppy" received higher ratings of emotionality than "dead friend," "gentle friend," and "smart friend." In some cases, however, differences were found in comparisons by age. Where fourth graders exhibited a consistent preference for "puppy," sixth graders tended to be less extreme in their ratings and appeared to be more sensitive to the nuances of "friend." The results summarized here all have significance for the present study.

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

Purpose

This study was designed to investigate the intensity of children's feelings about selected topics as well as about real and hypothetical situations. It compared differences in the intensity of feelings associated with specific questions by male and female children at two age levels.

Selection of Content

Ten questions were developed based on the results of a study described earlier in this paper. The questions were presented to the children in

the following order:

1. How would you feel if someone said you are smart?
2. How did you feel about the Steelers not getting to go to the Super Bowl this year?
3. How would you feel if someone offered you a puppy, but your parents said you couldn't keep it?
4. How would you feel if someone said you are pretty?
5. How do you feel about writing compositions?
6. How would you feel if you were crying and someone said you're immature?
7. How would you feel if you met someone you'd like to have as a friend, but your parents told you to stay away from that person?
8. How do you feel when someone says you are strong?
9. If you had a kitten, how would you feel if it got lost?
10. How do you feel about reading books?

Questions 1, 4, and 8 were based on the finding that "smart," "pretty," and "strong," elicited relatively strong responses in the earlier study. By wording the questions as I did, the sex of the respondents would undoubtedly be involved in their ratings.

Questions 3, 7, and 9 were designed to further clarify children's reactions to pets and friends. They are based on the findings regarding the contexts "puppy" and "friend" in my earlier study.

Question 6 was based on the premise that boys are taught early in life to suppress tears. They are also frequently encouraged to be more sports-minded than girls--question 2 examines this possibility. Both of these questions are related to a "macho" stereotype.

Questions 5 and 10 relate to important components of Language Arts. In our culture girls seem to learn to read earlier and with more ease than boys. Other subjects, such as math and science, are often regarded as "male" subjects.

Instrument

Since this was a follow up study, the same instrument which was used successfully in my earlier study was employed. It is a rating scale which provides information about both the direction and the strength of the feeling elicited (See Appendix A).

Sample

One hundred thirty-six children in grades four and six in two suburban schools participated in the study. The schools are located in middle-class residential sections of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The make-up of the sample is provided in Figure 1

Grade 4	41	24
Grade 6	32	39
	Males	Females

Figure 1

POPULATION USED IN THE STUDY

PROCEDURES

Administration

The data was collected in the children's regular classrooms. Each student was given a copy of the instrument and a blank card for keeping place with the questions. I asked each question orally and the students marked their reactions.

They were told that there were no right or wrong answers, that I was just interested in their feelings about various things, not to be concerned about how anyone else was marking the paper, and that they would get a chance to talk about the activity afterwards.

The students followed the directions easily and seemed to enjoy responding to the questions. Each time I administered the questionnaire the regular classroom teacher was present. As soon as the students had marked their forms in response to the questions, I collected the papers. Then I tape-recorded the discussion which followed.

Scoring

In order to obtain a score for a given question, points on the scale were weighted according to position. The values are as follows:

- 5 extremely bad
- 3 very bad
- 1 bad
- 0 neither bad nor good
- 1 good
- 3 very good
- 5 extremely good

In this way it was possible to quantify an individual's response and average a group's feeling about any one item.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Treatment of the Data

A two-way analysis of variance and covariances with repeated measures was used to analyze the data. Group means were obtained for the total group and for the subgroups: fourth grade males, sixth grade males, fourth grade females, and sixth grade females. The questions were analyzed as dependent variables.

Question One

The first question was: "How would you feel if someone said you are smart?" This question elicited the strongest responses of any from the total group-- $M=3.96324$. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 2.

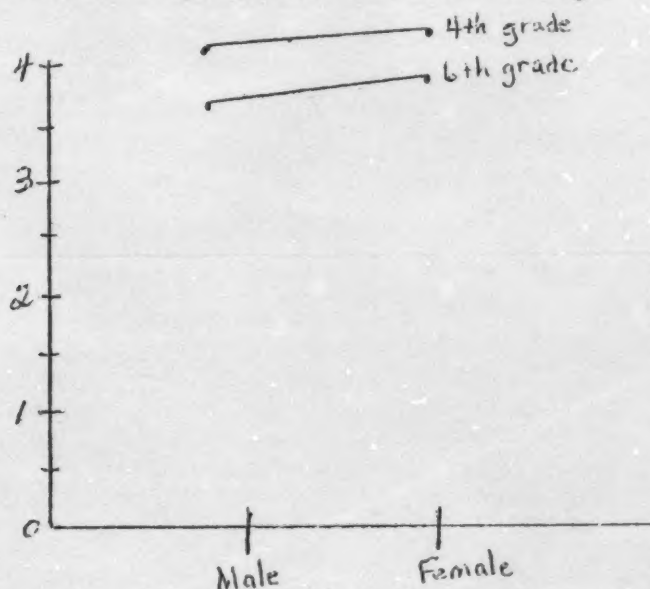


FIGURE 2
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 1

A two-way analysis of variance was used to test differences between the subgroup means. Results are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1
ANOVA -- QUESTION 1

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	1.19001	1	0.43	0.5122
Age	8.69873	1	3.16	0.0779
Sex*Age	0.0059	1	0.00	0.9883
Error	363.69887	132		

No significant differences were found in comparisons of the subgroups' responses to question 1. An interesting observation, however, is that these means were the highest for each subgroup, indicating that all the groups of children liked to be called "smart." Also, the tendency for the younger children to give stronger responses is evident.

Question Two

Question 2: "How did you feel about the Steelers not getting to go to the Super Bowl this year?" did not elicit strong responses from any of the groups. One reason for this was that the question elicited mixed reactions from the students, some even marking it positively. I found out from the discussion following the administration of the questionnaire that some children, even though they live in Pittsburgh, are loyal fans of other teams. Another reason for the weak response might be that several months had passed since the Super Bowl--it was no longer a current event. Subgroup means for question 2 are shown in Figure 3. The mean for the total group was -1.27206 .

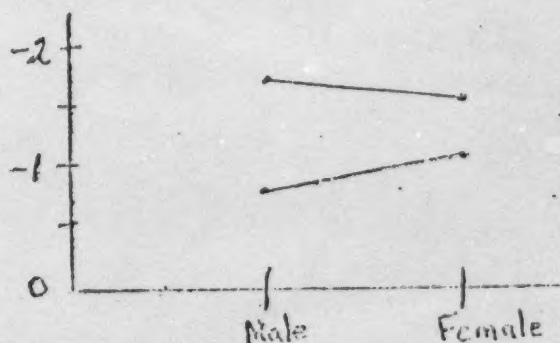


FIGURE 3
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 2

Analysis of variance revealed that differences between the subgroup means were not significant. Results are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2
ANOVA FOR SUBGROUP MEANS -- QUESTION 2

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	0.11792	1	0.02	0.8795
Age	17.90629	1	3.50	0.0635
Sex*Age	1.10372	1	0.22	0.6429
Error	674.76425	132		

Question Three

Question 3 asked: "How would you feel if someone offered you a puppy but your parent said you couldn't keep it?" The total group mean for this question was -2.53676.

Subgroup means are shown in Figure 4.

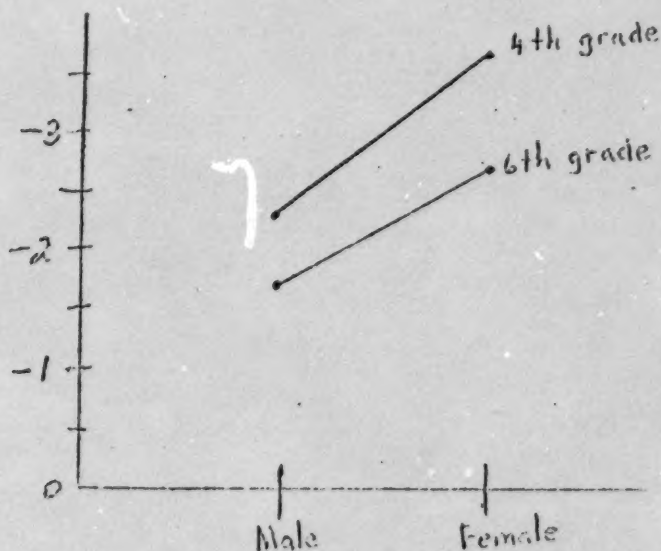


FIGURE 4
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 3

Analysis of variance for question 3 revealed significant differences for both age and sex. Results are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3
ANOVA -- QUESTION 3

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	38.20993	1	9.62	0.0023*
Age	22.57193	1	5.69	0.0185*
Sex*Age	1.20808	1	0.30	0.5821
Error	524.06379	132		

*Lowest level of significance

The more intense reactions of fourth graders and females to this question follows the pattern of my earlier study. Overall intensity, however, was not as high as might have been expected and was less than the response given to question 7, which dealt with a friend. Question 7 will be discussed later.

Question Four

Question 4 was: "How would you feel if someone said you are pretty?"

The total group mean for this question was 2.59559. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 5.

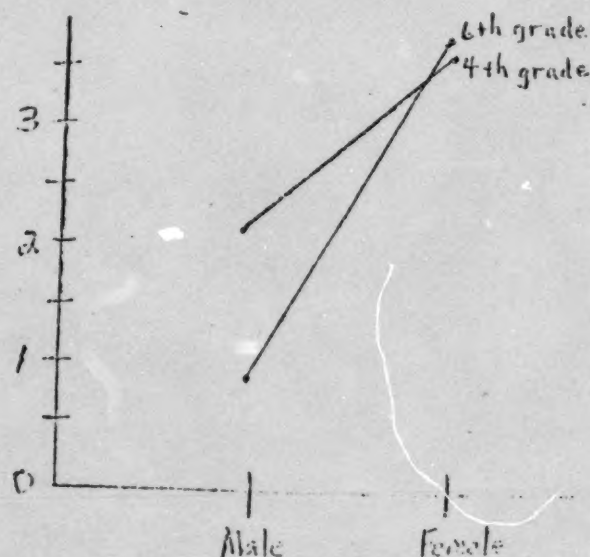


FIGURE 5

SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 4

As might have been expected, analysis of variance revealed significant sex differences in response to question 4. Results are given in Table 4.

TABLE 4
ANOVA -- QUESTION 4

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	152.43621	1	27.36	0.0000*
Age	7.86460	1	1.41	0.2369
Sex*Age	14.23791	1	2.56	0.1123
Error	735.34297	132		

*Lowest level of significance

Question Five

Question 5 was: "How do you feel about writing composition" The total group mean for this question was -1.18382. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 6.

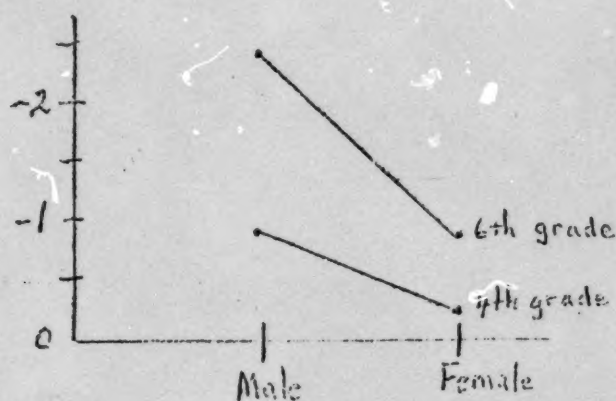


FIGURE 6
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 5

Analysis of variance revealed significant differences between males and females as well as between fourth graders and sixth graders. Results are given in Table 5.

TABLE 5
ANOVA -- QUESTION 5

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	41.95862	1	8.19	0.0049*
Age	38.16654	1	7.45	0.0072*
Sex*Age	5.46983	1	1.07	0.3033
Error	676.21359	132		

*Lowest level of significance

As a language arts teacher, these results are very disappointing. While some individual students gave positive responses to this question, the overall negative feelings associated with writing compositions was strong enough to produce all negative means. It would be dangerous to overgeneralize the results of this sample, but the responses point up the need to pay attention to affective aspects of language arts instruction.

Question Six

Question 6 asked: "How would you feel if you were crying and someone said you're immature?" The total group mean for this question was -3.19118, the second most intense response for all the questions. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 7.

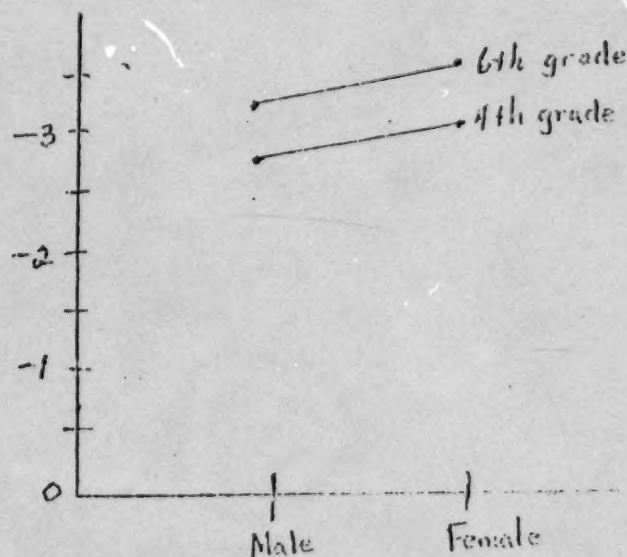


FIGURE 7

This is the first time the means indicated stronger feelings from the sixth graders than from the fourth graders. Analysis of variance indicated, however, that these differences were not significant. Results are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6
ANOVA -- QUESTION 6

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	3.66189	1	1.00	0.3193
Age	10.75944	1	2.94	0.0889
Sex*Age	0.00109	1	0.02	0.8820
Error	483.65473	132		

These results seemed to indicate general agreement among the groups that being called "immature" produces fairly strong negative feelings. Two interesting comments about this question were made during the discussion. One sixth grader said: "The one about the crying--I think it would be immature to say that because you have to let go your feelings." Later, a fourth grader commented, "The one where you said if someone saw you crying and said you're immature, I put 'extremely good' because you shouldn't be afraid of crying."

Question Seven

Question 7 asked: "How would you feel if you met someone you'd like to have as a friend but your parents told you to stay away from that person?" The total group mean for this question was -2.61765 which is lower than the mean obtained for question 9 (kitten question) and very slightly higher than question three (puppy question). Differences between group means for the various

questions were not analyzed statistically, but the proximity of the means for these three questions indicates that there are probably no significant differences between them. Subgroup means for question 7 are shown in Figure 8.

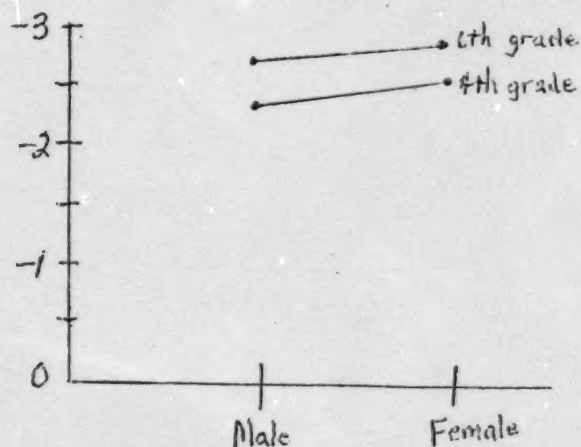


FIGURE 8

SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 7

Results of a two-way analysis of variance for the subgroup means are shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7

ANOVA -- QUESTION 7

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	1.15070	1	0.36	0.5521
Age	2.77842	1	0.86	0.3559
Sex*Age	0.02815	1	0.01	0.9258
Error	427.29745	133		

While this analysis produced no significant differences, the stronger responses were given by the sixth graders. This is consistent with the finding in my earlier study that the older group seemed to be more sensitive to the nuances of "friend."

Question Eight

Question 8 asked: "How do you feel when someone says you are strong?" The total group mean for this question was 3.10294. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 9.

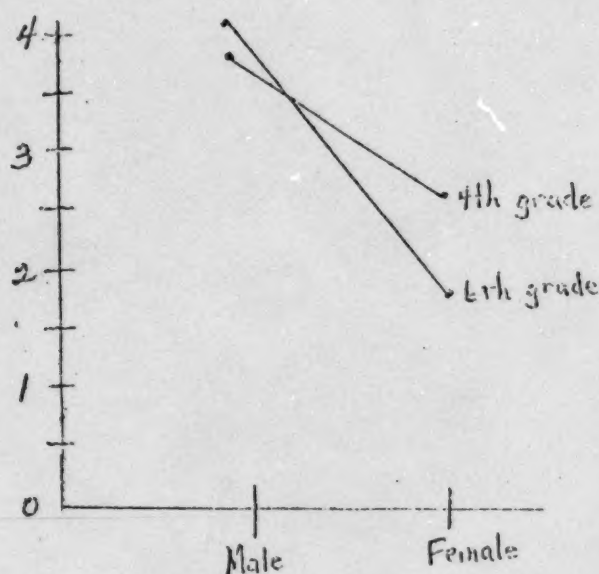


FIGURE 9

SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 8

Analysis of variance for question 8 revealed significant sex differences. Results are given in Table 8.

TABLE 8

ANOVA -- QUESTION 8

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	104.50051	1	32.60	0.0000*
Age	2.77005	1	0.87	0.3536
Sex*Age	10.30265	1	3.22	0.0749
Error	423.17003	132		

*Lowest level of significance

While the age effect was not significant, it appears that there may be an age trend on how both males and females perceive being called "strong."

Question Nine

Question 9: "If you had a kitten, how would you feel if it got lost?" produced a total group mean of -3.05882. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 10.

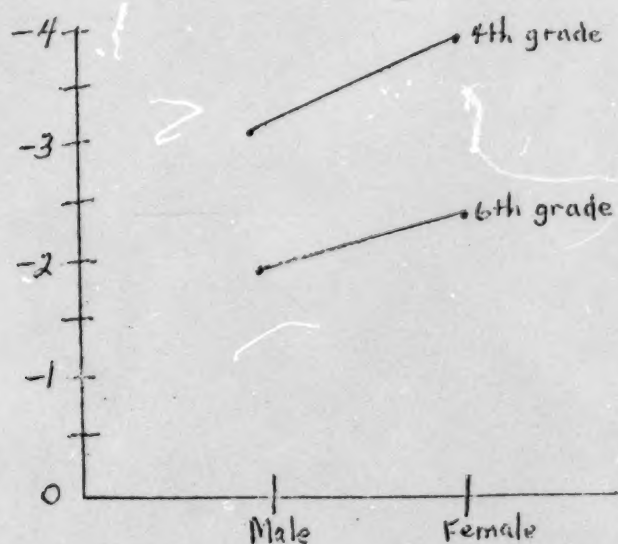


FIGURE 10
SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 9

Analysis of variance revealed significant differences for both age and sex. Results are given in Table 9.

TABLE 9

ANOVA FOR SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 9

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	42.46705	1	12.60	0.0005*
Age	21.10468	1	6.26	0.0136*
Sex*Age	2.90868	1	0.86	0.3547
Error	445.01847	132		

* Lowest level of significance.

Obviously feelings for a lost kitten are much stronger for fourth graders and for girls.

Question Ten

Question 10: "How do you feel about reading books?" produced a total group mean of 1.71324. Subgroup means are shown in Figure 11.

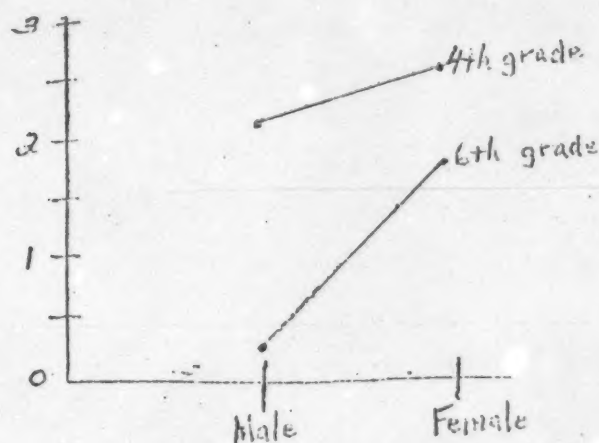


FIGURE 11

SUBGROUP MEANS FOR QUESTION 10

Analysis of variance revealed significant age and sex differences for this question. Results are given in Table 10.

TABLE 10
ANOVA -- QUESTION 10

Source	SS	df	F Value	P
Sex	35.36603	1	5.62	0.0192*
Age	58.66280	1	9.33	0.0027*
Sex*Age	8.87485	1	1.41	0.2370
Error	830.00096	132		

From this data, it appears that the longer children are in school the more negative their attitude is towards reading. It also seems like reading is viewed as essentially a feminine activity. The fact that all the means were relatively low resulted from the mix of negative and positive ratings for this question, indicating much individual variability in responses.

Class Discussions

Transcripts of the discussions following the administration of the questionnaire provided additional data. The sixth graders in general did go into more detail when they talked about their feelings. They often told anecdotes of things that had happened to them personally--for example, having a friend of whom their parents didn't approve. The fourth graders, on the other hand, limited their discussions almost entirely to the questionnaire items. For example, "About being strong, I put extremely good." and "If my parents said I couldn't have a dog, I'd feel extremely bad."

A tabulation of the comments made at each grade level revealed the following percentages: Thirty-seven per cent of the sixth graders' and 38% of the fourth graders' remarks were about pets. Thirty per cent of the sixth graders' comments dealt with friends, while only 9% of the fourth graders' discussions focused on that topic. The rest of the comments were

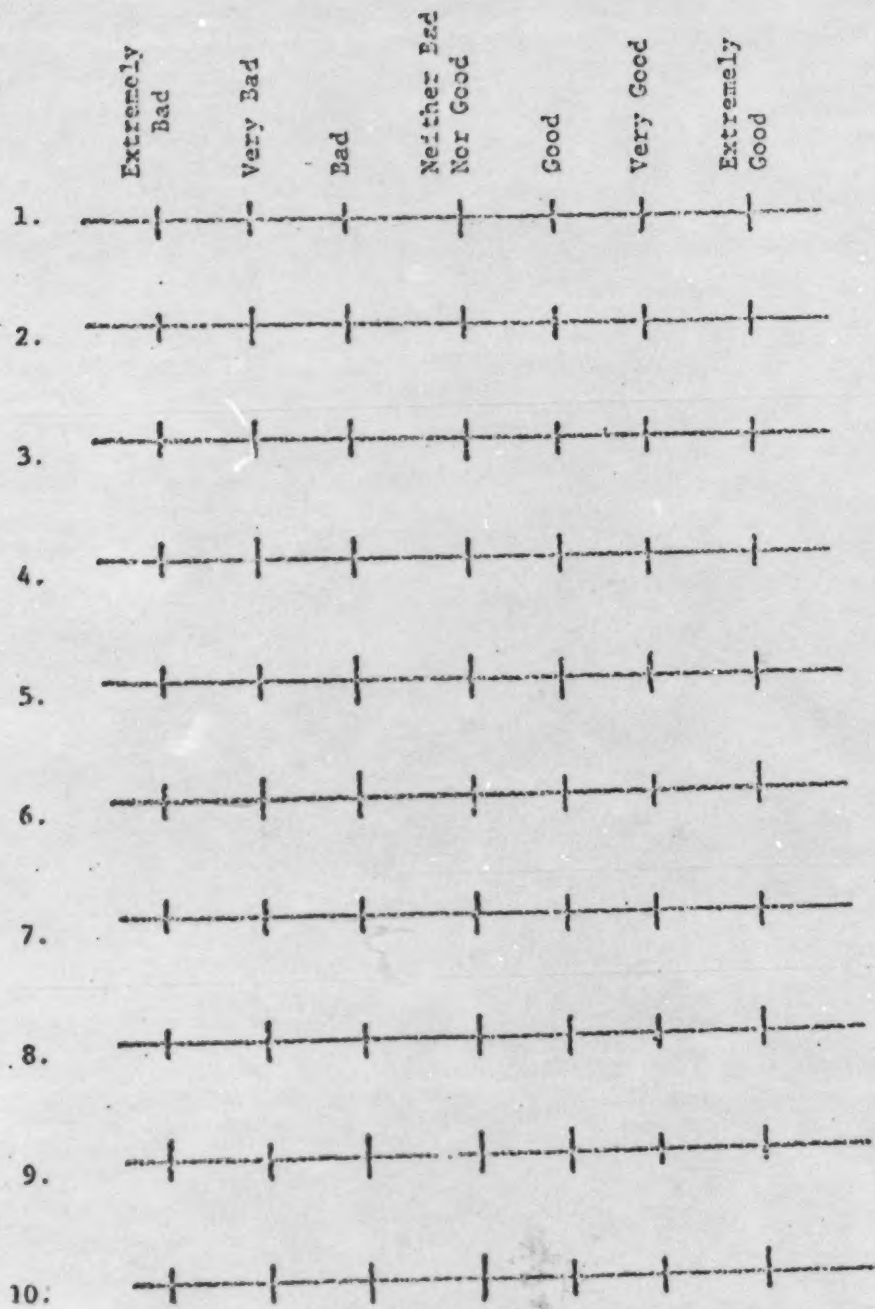
scattered among the other topics addressed in the questionnaire.

SUMMARY

Many of the findings of this study confirm the results of earlier studies. Sixth graders exhibit the ability to talk about their feelings to a greater degree than fourth graders. This verbal expression, however, translates the feelings into cognitive terms. Sixth graders do not seem to be as free as fourth graders in the intensity with which they respond to feeling-questions. The older students seem to be affected by lengthier cultural conditioning in tempering their responses. The age span between fourth and sixth grade has been shown to be a critical one where many changes occur.

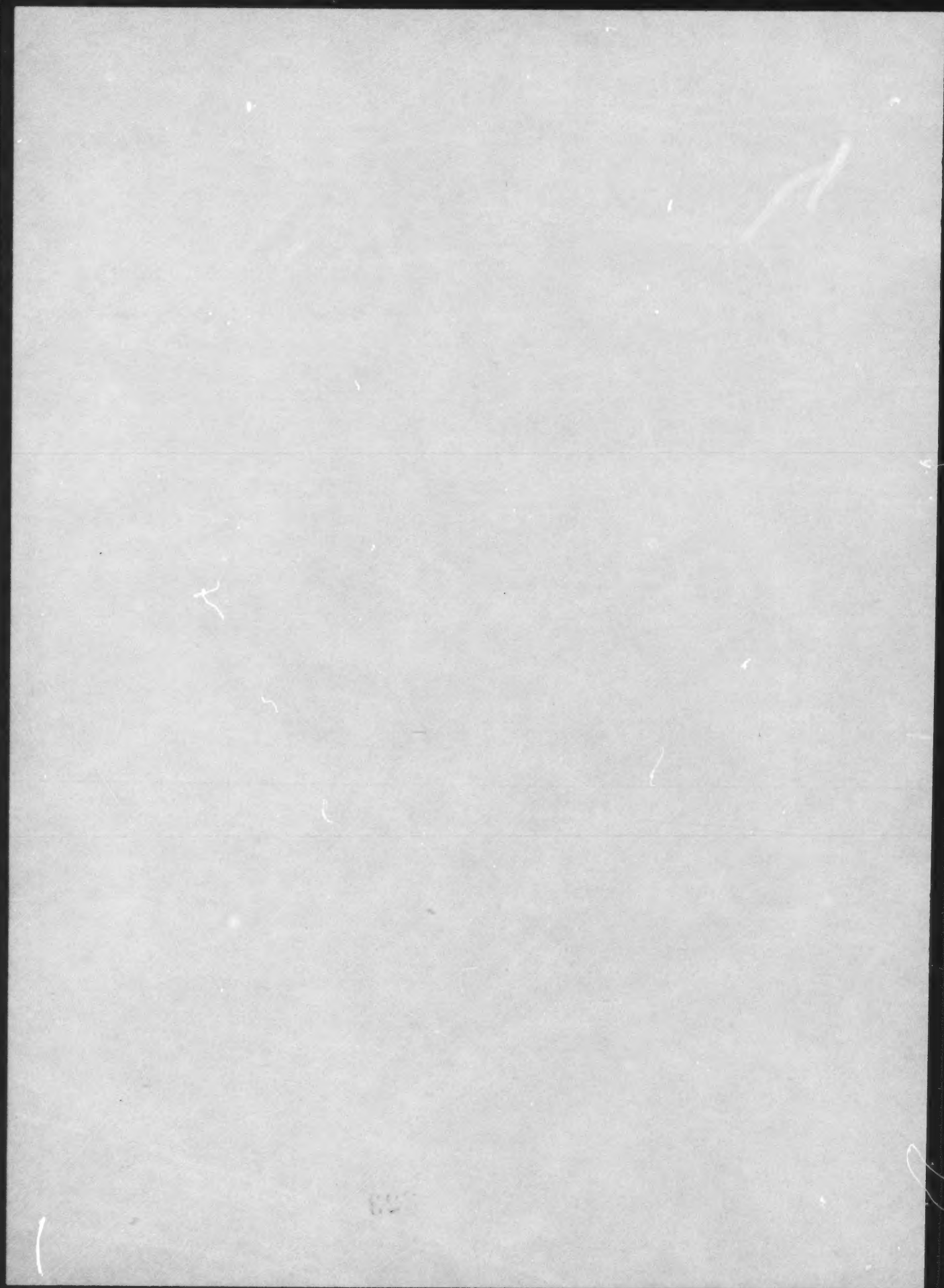
Language Arts teachers who are aware of their students' feelings can capitalize upon this knowledge in order to provide more meaningful instruction. Topics which evoke intense positive feelings can be catalysts for oral and written expression and can also be used for reading activities. Fourth grade may represent an ideal time to tap children's expressive energies, whereas sixth grade may be a critical time to be particularly sensitive to students' hesitancy to express feelings freely. All teachers would do well to value the affective dimensions of learning.

APPENDIX A



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WHAT HAPPENED TO HIGHER EDUCATION
INSTITUTIONS IN IRAN?

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WHAT HAPPENED TO HIGHER EDUCATION
INSTITUTIONS IN IRAN?

The Higher Education institutions in Iran are closed. Why? An analysis of historical facts prior to and following the 1978 revolution may provide an answer. The first historical facts are the rise of Ayatollah Khomeini and fall of the late Mohammad Shah. The different beliefs of these two men will serve as a separation in the text. Khomeini and his followers will be termed "religious fundamentalists" and the Shah and his supporters "pragmatic nationalists".

I. RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISTS

A. History

As long ago as 1,000 B.C. many highly developed religions existed in Iran. Zoroastrianism, Mithraism, Manichaeism and Mazdakism are examples all having an impact on Judaism, Christianity and Islam. Zoroastrianism is the only contemporary survivor.

These religions spread the concept of good and evil, which has evolved from more ancient polytheistic practices and beliefs. The polytheistic religions usually deified the forces and elements in nature. Fire, water, earth and air are examples. Generally persistent features and unifying trends can be traced from these ancient religions to Islam and other present day religions. Iranian religious thought is deeply concerned with the moral duties of man and their roles in his salvation. Man's destiny after death is also paramount in Iranian religious concerns (Feaver & Horosz, 1967).

The appearance of Muhammad, about A.D. 570, marked the beginning of Islam (Russell, 1959). Muslims believe him to be the last and greatest prophet. In Islamic teaching, Muhammad received the word of God through revelations from the Angel Gabriel. These revelations are contained in the Koran. The Koran thus sets forth all that man needs to

attain salvation (Sciassi, Personal Communications). The Pentateuch, the Psalms of the Old Testament and the Christian Gospels are not as God related them because of corruption by translators. The first five books of the Old Testament are considered sacred, however, they have been falsified by the Jews. Considered quasi-scriptural is the Hadith, a compolation of Muhammad's deeds as recorded by his companions. The Koran and the Hadith together provide a basis for adapting existing customs into an Islamic code of behavior (Sciassi, Personal Communications).

Islam teaches the existence of one God, who has given to mankind, through his prophets, a succession of revelations of divine truth. When the world falls into error he sends new prophets to lead mankind toward truth and righteousness. All Muslims believe there will be no further prophets after Muhammad, until the return of the Messiah (Hocking, 1963).

After the death of Muhammad a significant split took place in the Muslim world (Russell, 1959). The controversy between the Sunni branch and the Shiah branch centered on the issue of successor to Muhammad. The Shiites contended that succession to the prophet and responsibility for theological interpretations were preordained by God's will and determined by Muhammad to remain in his house. The Sunnis believed this was untrue and that popular vote should determine religious leaders. Open warfare ensued between these Islamic branches. These branches also have more religious differences. The Shiites believe that a body of esoteric knowledge passed

from Muhammad to Ali and his descendants, the divinely guided imams. The imams, therefore, are in a position to reveal the true meaning of the Koran and to continuously define dogma according to their inner light. Thus the Shiites can interpret more contemporary problems, whereas the Sunnis are more literal and conservative. The Ayatollah Khomeini is a Shiite imam with a large group of followers (Arasteh, 1964). There are other differences, however, the purpose of this section is to understand the forces behind Ayatollah Khomeini's actions.

B. Social and Ethical Values

Islamic belief discourages excessive concern for wordly pleasures, however, it does not favor asceticism. The Muslim must avoid sin to be rewarded in the hereafter. Punishment follows deliberate wrongdoing, however, divine forgiveness and remittance of the penalties can accompany a sincere change of heart.

Although Islam advocates egalitarian society, religious doctrines are confined to the house of Ali and accorded among Shiites to the imams. Kings are afforded divine mandate to rule and are God's shadow on earth. The ultimate masculine role as the head of the household is delineated by the Koran and women's moral and proprietary rights are asserted. Recently, under Mohammad Shah, the rights of women have been expanded and rules concerning marriage, divorce, the veil and political equality have been changed. The support of some clergymen in 1963 riots were

motivated by the liberal attitude of the government toward women (Kinnane, 1964).

Property held in trust and used for a religious cause had grown in Iran. It is now an institution with important social and legal consequences. The clergy, for the most part, controlled such lands. In January 1963, a government land reform measure altered this situation. This referendum empowered the government to lease these lands to the peasants already working them.

As Islam became more and more organized, its clerical class (imams and mullahs) gained considerable authority and prestige. It was to this class of Muslims that the authority to decide points of law and religious conduct came to be relegated (Persia, 1961).

Among the Shiite's religious authority lies with the mujtahids. These men have shown proficiency in the science of religion and ability to decide points of religious conduct. They are then in a position to be followed by laymen. Laymen are free to follow any mujtahid in religious conduct particulars. When a mujtahid obtains universal recognition, he can be titled ayatollah. Ayatollah is the highest honor a Shiite leader can be given.

To gain proficiency in theological science, the imams enter religious schools in Iran and neighboring countries. Anyone studying theology to the level of earning a doctorate and who is found morally and spiritually pious is given a letter of authorization, thus becoming a mujtahid.

This summary of Islamic beliefs and history, has hopefully served to identify Ayatollah Khomeini and some socio-religious forces which motivated him.

II. HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

Iran, like many eastern countries, has had an autocratic head. With the onset of the industrial revolution and large government came many problems (Sanghvi, 1967). How the power would be dispersed changed with social conditions and personal policies of the different rulers. These policies and conditions were directly responsible for the activity or inactivity of higher education.

A. Constitution

The last Qajar shahs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries recognized the need to modernize the administrative machinery of government (Stewart, 1967). They declined to grant decision making power to the small but growing educated class they used in staffing their expanding bureaucracy. This situation, along with heightened dissatisfaction with royal and ministerial extravagance, commitments to foreign controls and oppressive fiscal measures, led to the events of 1906 and 1907 (Kudsi-Zadeh, 1969). During that time a small intellectual class, merchants and some clergy forced the Qajar shahs, Muzzaffar al-Din and Mohammad Ali, to promulgate the Constitution (Arasteh, 1964).

From 1907 to 1909, Mohammad Ali Shah attempted to overthrow the Majlis and the constitutional documents. He was opposed to constitutionalism and representative govern-

ment. He failed and was deposed in 1909. The constitution and the Majlis survived, however, the latter became factionally divided between revolutionaries and moderates. Ahmad Mirza Shah, son of Mohammad Ali Shah, took the throne. In effective control, however, was Reza Khan who officially became Shah in 1925. Reza Shah was the father of Mohammad Reza Shah, who ruled until the recent revolution which has provided substance for this paper (Keddie, 1969).

The establishing of the constitution is sometimes referred to by Iranian spokesmen as the "first revolution". It provided a legislature, defined the state with its basic organizations and powers of government and constitutionally codified the individual rights of the Iranian people. The constitution thus became the source of legitimizing power. It also served as an array of national goals, since not all of its provisions were or could be implemented at once. This was due to the medieval traditionalist nature of the society and widespread illiteracy (Persia, 1961).

B. Evolution of Political Parties

In the modern sense, political parties date from the period of constitutional establishment. Secret political groups attempting to model themselves on the pattern of European parties came into being with the objective of combating foreign influence, financing corruption and royal despotism.

After the constitutional proclamation, political party activity was openly conducted until the accession of Reza Shah took power in 1921. During his reign some politi-

cal power rested in the Majlis (bicameral Parliament) which was provided for by the constitution. The early Majlis was usually divided into a conservative pro-Russian majority group known as the Moderate Socialist Party and a revolutionary pro-British minority group called the Popular Democrats. The Majlis sessions were interrupted during World War I and these political groups never gained a popular following (Cottam, 1964).

After World War I regular sessions of the Majlis were resumed, however, Reza Shah forbid any political party activity. This inactivity was to remain until 1941 when Reza Shah abdicated and was succeeded by his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, who stated his intention to reign constitutionally. These developments opened the way for freer political activity (Lenczowski, 1949). In the years of World War II and immediately thereafter numerous political parties appeared. These parties were often in a confused state and were unrepresented in the Majlis. Groups which surfaced in the Majlis bore little resemblance to developments in the country at large. They seemed to be cliques, representative of occupational interests or regional in nature.

Allied occupation of Iran and involvement of the Soviet Union and Great Britain in internal Iranian affairs, often provided the stimulus for these confused political parties. Political groups were siding with the reform proponents of the Shah or conservative proponents of the aristocratic Majlis. The communist Tudeh Party was the best or-

ganized of these groups (Lenczowski, 1949). It was organized in cells, had an overt line of nationalist propaganda and a covert system of training in Marxist ideology (Zabih, 1966). The Tudeh Party strengths were among intellectuals, university students and even army officers. At Tehran University students were especially active. The Tudeh Party was generally unsuccessful in developing support among the peasantry. After the Communist assassination attempt of the Shah in 1949, the Tudeh Party was outlawed (Zabih, 1966). One of the major reasons for royal success in eradication of the Tudeh Party was the formation of the Savak in 1957. This was the Iranian secret police and it eventually spread to all aspects of life in Iran.

Hopefully the preceeding pages have served as background for an adequate look at the recent happenings and the effects on and role of higher education.

III. COMPARISON OF ISLAM AND TWENTIETH CENTURY REFORMS IN THE LIGHT OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The expansion of all education with an emphasis upon higher education was heavily promoted by Mohammad Reza Shah. During his reign, from 1941 until 1978, he initiated the "white revolution" or revolution of the Shah and the people in 1961 (Sanghvi, 1967). These developments led to basic disagreements between the landlords, merchants and clergy of the Majlis and the Shah on sociopolitical reforms.

Initially the Shah proposed six objectives, which were later expanded to twelve. They were:

1. implementation of land reform and redistribution,
2. mechanization of agriculture,
3. establishment of rural cooperatives,
4. overhaul of government administrative machinery,
5. improvement of tax assessment and collection, and
6. a broadening of the educational system to emphasize vocational training.

The sixth point called for the formation of an education corps, called the Literacy Corps. This would be manned by high school graduates who, because of their failure on the National College Entrance Examination and subsequent military conscription period, would act as primary school teachers and multipurpose workers in the villages. It was

hoped that this would combat illiteracy, superstition and ignorance.

This action was called a revolution because the Shah, knowing he did not have Majlis support, implemented the measures without a vote (Sanghvi, 1967). To gain public support for his changes, he sold his personal land holdings. This put him in an unassailable moral position. From this position he demanded other wealthy Iranians (usually member of the Majlis) to conform.

G. Sabri-Tabrize (1980) reviews the impact of the White Revolution on Higher Education. He says that

Iran has presented a paradox to the world. The Shah's government had taken advantage of its vast income from oil to depict Iran as a dynamic country, eager to progress, to embellish its past and at the same time develop new technologies. And yet something was always wrong. The grand schemes never quite got off the ground. The Colleges never seemed to function efficiently; they relied heavily on foreign teachers and little or no original research was (p. 10).

He goes on to describe Iran's intellectual and cultural life as "decaying at the root" (p. 10). He describes numerous tortures, imprisonments and murders for speaking ill of the Shah's government. Tabrize discloses numerous examples of solidarity and cultural enrichment during Mossadegh's 1951 attempts at nationalizing the oil fields. He seems reserved in his acknowledgement of Khomeini, describing instead how Iran has taken many steps forward from past indignities. Concerning the higher education institutions he says "without cultural and economic independence, academic freedom cannot function" (p. 11).

The White Revolution policies of alluring prominent American professors and technology was described as a "mixed blessing" (The Times Higher Education Supplement, Feb. 4, 1977, p. 12c). In this article the position of American universities is viewed as a highly beneficial economic adventure. This entrepreneurial approach is stated as "not in the best interests of the academic community of either country" (p. 12c). This article also touches upon the controversial nature of the Shah's regime and the political implications to academe.

To say that the Islamic fundamentalists disagreed with the policies of the Shah would be mild. They rioted, demonstrated and voiced disapproval at any opportunity. Despite the financial funding of such programs as the Literacy Corps, the educational expansion seldom benefited the rural peasants. This was constantly a point for religious leaders.

In an article, Mahvash Nickjoo (1979), describes the Shah's effort as being "sincere but ineffective and inadequate" (p. 927). Iran was spending over twenty percent of its gross national product on education but the literacy rate was hardly altered. Forty percent of the elementary school aged children were still not attending school" (Yarshater, 1971, p. 54):

A. Reza Arasteh, in his tremendously descriptive book Man and Society In Iran, examines the westernization of the Iranian family unit. Arasteh cites the industrial revolution and the rise of the city as promoters of general inde-

pendence among younger family members. The younger members migrated to the cities where they became acquainted with urban business ethics. The attention of men was turned outside the family to their work. Money and power, components of industrial morality, is non-sexist enabling women to rise in social status (Corwin, 1965).

Business had also influenced higher education. The utilitarian (practical) interests of the economically based government became the duty of the public colleges and universities (Corwin, 1965).

The private primarily rural religious colleges were still in existence. They produced ministers as well as teachers who would spread religious dogma. Thus the traditional tribal and family class structure was still being taught (Arasteh, 1964). This maintenance of religiousness was probably of major significance in the subsequent rise of the Ayatollah Khomeini. The average Iranian, although changed by the modern tendencies of the government, was still dependent on the Koran for inner guidance and stability. As part II of this paper summarizes and Arasteh explains; the history of Iran is full of military conquests. "Yet their successes seldom went beyond the military phase, for they were ill-prepared to handle the machinery of a highly structured society" (Arasteh, 1964, p. 13). Thus the religious based class system entrenched in the village and family was held in tact. Some younger men gained independence and some urban women gained social status but these proved insignificant.

While the Shah's monetary based government was crumbling, the formation of public sentiment for Khomeini was rising. Westernization was seen as another imperialistic scheme which proved as unsuccessful as other invaders in Iran's history.

When Khomeini gained power in 1978 he viewed the "purging of the universities as main priority" (London Times, July 2, 1980, p. 1f). In the same article the number purged was reported as 1,637. In addressing these numerous purgings, Khomeini said "a learned man who is not cleansed is more dangerous than an ignorant man" (p. 1f). Many who lost their jobs also lost pensions and retirements because of counter-revolution allegations.

After his takeover, Khomeini warned the university students to "beware of plots and sabotage which might undermine Islam" (London Times, Sept. 24, 1979, p. 36c). Two days later in the same paper he promised to "obliterate opponents of the Islamic Constitution and placed overall control in Revolutionary Councils, manned by Theologians" (p. 5c). The universities are considered "hotbeds of left-wing opposition" (p. 5c). In April, 1980, the Revolutionary Council closed the universities after widespread bloodshed and violence on campuses. Many people opposed the closing. On June 5, 1980 the Communist Tudeh Party (see History of Government and Politics Section) which had been highly supportive of Khomeini "warned of clashes at Tehran University during an upcoming celebration" (p. 8h).

The Theologians are now in total control of government, the courts and all aspects of Iranian society, including higher education. The women have returned to their veils, while all areas of government and society are being purged.

All textbooks are being examined and pictures and propaganda of the Shah are being removed. Any universities bearing his name or named by him are being renamed and in most cases consolidated to form fewer but larger units. Foreign professors and administrators have been sent home.

What may happen in the future is unknown. Religious leaders differ in their beliefs concerning religious and government interaction. Khomeini's age may prevent him from governing. The Tudeh Parties return illustrates Soviet presence. Allied concerns are well documented. Whether these or other reasons will provide the necessary spark to ignite Iran is pure skepticism.

IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

The new Islamic Government must make important decisions concerning higher education. The utilitarian policies of the Shah were aimed at supplying the country with needed technicians and engineers. This must be expanded and become more egalitarian. In the Shah's system five hundred thousand candidates yearly tested for forty thousand positions in the colleges and universities (Sciassi, Personal Communication). It is not surprising that the supply of academic graduates never satisfied the needs of Iran's growing economy. It is also not surprising that forty thousand Iranian students were studying abroad.

To fill the skilled manpower needs of Iran and keep the students at home, the new government must decentralize the higher education system. In the Shah's system financial assistance was given to provincial education. "But the responsibility for overall planning and coordination, as well as for curricula, textbooks, teacher training and other matters of common interest, were located in the capitol" (Amuzegar 1977, p. 181). Loyalty to the government was a prerequisite for admittance to the better programs. The new Revolutionary Government cannot substitute Islamic loyalty for governmental loyalty and promote academic freedom.

In 1930 there was only one university in Iran. This was expanded to twenty in 1976. The private institutions and teacher training colleges also followed similar expansion tendencies. This progressivism was honorable, however, the faculties of these institutions were often foreigners. They rarely stayed for more than a year and were often more interested in the companies they represented than in education (The Times Higher Education Supplement, Feb. 4, 1977, p. 12c). This progressive expansion of higher education must be continued to include more of the Iranian people.

The Ayatollah and other Islamic officers must find a way of combining their theocratic laws into useful civil decisions. Decisions which must help the citizen. Higher education can be a tool to accomplishing that end. The continuance of the Shah's utilitarian policies but changing the recipients of that utilitarianism may help. The solidarity of sentiment will be a benefit. The major obstacle may be the rest of the world. Iran's oil, in this oil-dependent world, will invite exploitation.

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